





## Newspapers should have to prove their allegations

READ with interest your editorial concerning the reform of the British libel laws in the wake of the Aitken trial (July 13). Aitken's perjury aside, and without having access to the relevant legislation, I do not feel you have made a convincing case for reversal of burden of proof. It seems logical that whoever makes an allegation of misconduct should have marshalled their evidence of wrongdoing before any publication goes to print.

Within the field with which I am more familiar, conclusions based on scientific data are disseminated through peer-reviewed journals. Acceptance of a paper is dependent on an author having presented all the necessary facts in support of a hypothesis or in refutation of a theory. Drawing conclusions without the facts at hand is poor science; a strong belief that something is so, despite a lack of supporting evidence, is the road to scientific fraud.

My dissatisfaction with your editorial stems primarily from your statement with reference to the Aitken case: "The one thing we were sure of was that he was lying. Proving it... was a different matter." Surely responsible journalism requires that the proof has been obtained before libel proceedings request it, otherwise on what have you based your certainty? A large newspaper exists to disseminate information. When the information makes allegations about the conduct of an individual, however public his or her position, it should present the facts that support the allegations.

If the onus of proof were on the spotlighted individual, then less scrupulous journalists would have little incentive to assemble hard evi-

dence beforehand. Public figures could then find that a significant proportion of their time is spent digging up evidence to refute allegations made by the press.

Retractions made by the press, should libel be proven, carry less impact than the original allegations and for many of the public the charges would have stuck. When professional reputations are being questioned, the facts necessary to convince "a judge sitting alone", a jury, or the general public, should be presented concurrently.

Philip Seddon,  
Taif, Saudi Arabia

"WE TAKE no pleasure in the ruin of a man..." you declare in your editorial on Jonathan Aitken (June 29). Really? In that case, allow me to take it for you.

I'm not alone in enjoying the spectacle of overweening politicians being brought down by tenacious journalists backed by an editor who does not turn to water at the first sign of a defamatory writ.

Ron Knowles,  
Kurrajong, NSW, Australia

## Americans sing vacation blues

KAMAL AHMED'S article on work weeks and annual holidays in Britain and Europe (June 29) would have been all the more interesting had the US been included in the comparison. What percentage of the workforce in Britain or Europe, for example, takes less than three weeks' vacation a year? Less

than two? In the United States, two weeks' vacation a year is the norm and often no vacation is permitted during the first year of a new job. A third week is awarded after five years, though the chances of surviving five years at one company are vanishingly small.

Vacation time is entirely a matter of company policy. I know a number of Americans who take no time off at all. "I'm going on vacation" frequently means a long weekend. And this on top of work weeks that are virtually always in excess of 50 hours.

In accordance with the American ideal of freedom (To Those Who Have More Shall Be Given), the holders of prestigious, higher-paying jobs enjoy considerably greater benefits.

Here in Silicon Valley, where harsh work regimes are pervasive, a bizarre development has occurred. It is regarded as "cool" to work brutally long hours. Companies advertise free carry-out dinners as a fringe "benefit" (I suspect that one's family is not included).

But because America is the cradle and guardian of freedom and family values you naturally have a choice: submit, flip hamburgers, or starve.

Workaholicism, and the impoverished life it engenders, have been enshrined as a social virtue. The slavery of whips and chains has been replaced by a socially-acceptable, glamorised, self-policed variant in which you drive a flashy car, sleep in your own bed, and are generally too busy and exhausted to think about politics. Or freedom.

Cecil Block,  
Mountain View, California, USA

## Nato's dilemma in Bosnia

MARTIN WOOLLACOTT is right to suggest that Nato actions in Bosnia are intimately linked to the need to improve the international standing of the institution, which looked as if it would be consigned to the history books with the ending of the cold war (Nato puts its future on the line in Bosnia, July 20).

However, the rhetoric of armed intervention as the solution to the still fragmented nature of the Bosnian state is based on the dubious premise that a handful of indicted and undicted alleged war criminals are the barrier to reconciliation.

It would appear that any Bosnian Serbs in a position of power are now fair game as scapegoats for the lack of success of the Dayton peace accords. This neglects the embarrassing fact that at elections the nationalist parties on all three sides continue to receive a popular mandate, and there is very little support for the elitist civic groups who argue for cross-entity co-operation. One of the reasons for this is the insecurity felt by ordinary people in many parts of the state. The return of sanctions, snatch squads and upping the stakes militarily will merely make the divisions worse.

If Martin Woollacott put the interests of Bosnian people before the need of Nato for a new mission and some good public relations, he would maybe question the black and white morality play of evil Bosnian leaders versus the white knights of the international community.

It is a shame that the lack of a coherent role for Nato in the post-cold war era seems to necessitate

the demonisation of Bosnians and their elected representatives.  
Dave Chandler,  
International Social Policy  
Research Unit, Leeds Metropolitan  
University, Leeds

## Quarantine shames Britain

EARLIER this year, I watched a programme by Germany's ZDF station on the British rabies quarantine disaster. I had never thought I could ever be so embarrassed for and by my fellow Britons, the so-called animal lovers, with their insistence on rabies quarantine even for animals that have been properly vaccinated against the disease and had blood tests that prove the efficacy of the vaccination.

Professor Dr Jürgen Unshelm of Munich University made the point that the act of separating a pet from its human family and enclosing it in a wire and concrete cage for one entire half year of its life in itself contravenes all animal protection laws.

We saw scenes of the conditions in which some of these sad and horribly distressed detainees were kept at a cost to their owners of anything up to £2,000: wire cages with concrete floors covered in excrement and absolutely no outlet for exercise — they may not defile British soil by so much as one paw print.

Now that Switzerland has also eradicated the disease, I believe all of Western Europe is free from rabies. This was achieved in every case by vaccination, not quarantine. The new government wants to eliminate all kinds of public malpractice — this would be a good place to start.

H Locher,  
Huetikon, Switzerland

## Canada on a 'slippery slope'

I WOULD like to provide some balance to the flurry of cheerleading letters you have received from my fellow countrymen.

Canada may have been great in the past, but it is no longer. We are fragmented and going downhill fast. This is thanks in part to the adoption — almost without reserve — of the globalisation agenda. We have growing poverty, more homeless people — especially here in Toronto — and a very poor record on the environment.

Tony Blair should have reserved his criticism on the environment for Canada rather than the United States. We are the country that has completely abandoned the Rio agreements. Our former minister of the energy scrapped (completely!) Canada's commitment to ozone reductions when the large corporations that fund her party objected. Our prime minister, when asked about the environment, offered the following: "I drove one of those new propane buses. They are great!"

Despite high unemployment and American-style social problems, many Canadians live in a permanent state of denial. Our anti-social, business-oriented, Americanised culture is ruining our country, and while the UN ranking system may provide us with a false sense of security the fact remains that we are winning the race to the bottom of the socio-economic ladder.

John Richmond,  
Toronto, Canada

## Briefly

AT LAST it's official: "The state is essential for putting in place the appropriate institutional foundations for markets," says the World Bank, reversing its attitude of the 1980s (World Bank in surprise policy U-turn, July 6).

Had Margaret Thatcher read Adam Smith more attentively she would have known that, far from there being no such thing as a free city, he took it as self-evident that capitalism flourished within a national society.  
S Bourke,  
Fukuyama, Japan

I MUST respond to Brian A Jones' amusing reprimand (July 13) of Paul Evans for using "I" instead of "me".

For a living language, the ruled grammar must constantly change to reflect the forms of everyday speech. In the sixties, educationists realised the error of imposing middle-class values on children and allowed them to use the language: the way they felt most comfortable. To adjust his ear to contemporary British English, Mr Jones might like to learn the following lines and recite them every evening before going to sleep:

Mum made a pie for my nido and I;  
Him and me had it for tea.  
Mike Kearney,  
Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales

GIANNI VERSACE designed clothes for that rare breed who is attractive enough to wear them, rich enough to afford them, and brainless enough to attach such importance to them. A loss? Apparently so to this pompous and vacillate, but I suspect that the rest of us will probably get over it.  
Mike Pokorny,  
St Albans, Hertfordshire

TIM RADFORD reports: "Given say boys will be boys and girls will be sensitive" (June 29). British scientists have discovered that nature, not nurture, is the cause of boys being selfish and girls being sensitive. No doubt the last thing Science discovers is that boys are made of snips and snips and puppy dog tails, and little girls are made of sugar and spice and all things nice.  
Michael MacRobert,  
Shreveport, Louisiana, USA

FURTHER to the remarkable US research findings that smoking during pregnancy could produce criminal sons (July 20), should we not push back further the boundaries of scientific knowledge by testing for a correlation between cigar-smoking men and tax fraud?  
Gordon Crawford,  
Leeds

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## Warlord wins free Liberia election

James Rupert in Monrovia

CHARLES TAYLOR, the warlord who started and dominated Liberia's brutal seven-year civil war, appeared on Monday to have won by election the power he was unable to seize in battle.

With a third of the ballots counted from last weekend's presidential poll, Mr Taylor had a 66 per cent lead in what Liberians say was their country's most free election. His main rival, former World Bank and United Nations official Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, polled less than 16 per cent of the vote.

It also appeared that Mr Taylor's party would get a majority in a new legislature, which is being elected by a proportional representation of the nationwide vote.

The credible election fulfils a goal of the United States and of European and west African nations, which are trying to help rebuild the collapsed Liberian state. But Mr Taylor's victory frustrates the long-held desire by many of those countries to keep him out of power because they see him as a corrupt and pompous authoritarian.

The election represents an impor-

tant step forward for a country riven by factional ethnic strife. But Mr Taylor's apparent victory will raise immediate new concerns. If he has proven himself Liberia's most popular political figure, in some circles he remains its most hated.

During a war that killed an estimated 150,000 people and included brutality on all sides, human rights groups frequently reported atrocities by Mr Taylor's forces. In addition, Mr Taylor has bitter enemies among Liberia's Krahn and Mandingo ethnic groups.

Observers from the UN, the European Union and other groups had high marks for the way last Saturday's balloting was conducted. Still, the control that Mr Taylor's faction exercised in much of the country gave him huge advantages during the campaign.

For years, his forces have run a quasi-government in much of the country, financing it by selling off the riches of Liberia's mines and forests. But a Taylor victory will have been won with more than his war booty. Mr Taylor's persona as a powerful leader appealed to many who believe the country needs a firm hand following seven years of fratricide.



Charles Taylor supporters cling to a limo in Monrovia during the largely peaceful Liberian presidential election campaign

## Human cost rules out Israeli invasion of Palestinian cities

Julian Borger in Jerusalem

THE Israeli Defence Force has warned the government that retaking Palestinian-run cities is not a realistic option after army war-games showed that it would cost hundreds of soldiers' lives.

The IDF carried out exercises last month to rehearse Operation Thorn Field, a contingency plan under which Israeli troops would enter some or all of the seven cities handed over to the Palestinian Authority under the Oslo peace accords.

According to Yediot Aharanot newspaper, IDF generals concluded: "Israel has nothing to gain from a violent confrontation with the Palestinians. They can only lose. Neither will the Palestinians gain anything."

The possibility of such an operation has been raised increasingly by government officials as peace talks have stalled in recent months and unrest in Palestinian areas has risen.

After several weeks of riots in Hebron, the government is reported to have threatened the reoccupation of the Arab sector of the town if the Palestinian Authority did not take firmer measures to end the unrest. In response, several hundred extra Palestinian police were deployed in the town centre.

However, the chief of the Palestinian police in Hebron, Colonel Tariq Zaid, said at the time he did not believe the Israeli threats. "The Israeli army will not come back again. They know the Palestinians would fight with their lives and many would die," he said.

According to Yediot and Israeli television news, the IDF generals agreed with Col Zaid. The predicted IDF death toll, based on the June

exercises, is reported to have been several hundred, with many more wounded. The IDF has instead recommended more flexible and gradual responses to violence in the Palestinian cities, including reinforcements at flashpoints such as central Hebron.

The generals' recommendations are believed to have been requested by the prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, who called on his inner security cabinet to develop possible scenarios if relations between Israelis and Palestinians continued to worsen.

Israeli officials are confident that the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, can be wooed back to the negotiating table despite the continued work on new Jewish settlements in the Palestinian areas.

The Israeli foreign minister, David Levy, this week met Nabil Shaath, a senior negotiator, for talks the Israelis hope will pave the way for a meeting between Mr Levy and Mr Arafat.

Another Palestinian negotiator, Saeb Erekat, said that the United States was preparing a parallel initiative aimed at breaking the current impasse in Israel-Palestinian relations.

Mr Erekat described the plan as "a package deal" but refused to go into further detail. Palestinian sources said they believed the US proposal would involve a six-month moratorium on Jewish settlements.

Mr Netanyahu has so far offered to slow down settlement construction but ruled out stopping the building work.

The prime minister's new political adviser, Uri Arad, has meanwhile been promoting an Israeli proposal involving immediate talks on a final territorial settlement with the Palestinians.

## Hard hands grab levers of power in Cambodia

Nick Cumming-Bruce in Bangkok

THE fate of Cambodia's short and shaky experiment with democracy hangs in the balance this week as the exiled victims of the coup earlier this month try to win the backing of foreign governments and Hun Sen consolidates his grip.

Hun Sen has bluntly rebuffed offers of mediation by the Association of South East Asian Nations (Asean). That may in part be bluff, echoing his statement after the coup that if Asean wanted to meddle in Cambodian affairs he would not want to be in Asean. In fact he is still urging Asean leaders to admit him to their influential club, as originally planned, at the end of this month.

More probably it reflects his conviction, behind the heavily defended walls of the military base he calls home, that he has an unshakable grip on the levers of power which the international community will take up the challenge.

Hun Sen's forces have shattered organised royalist resistance in northwestern provinces. They marched into the last significant royalist-held town late last week, sending the demoralised and poorly equipped troops scurrying for sanctuary on the Thai border. The remaining members of the prince's party, Funcinpec, have run equally fast to accommodate Hun Sen's designs.

Funcinpec's choice of Prince Ranariddh's foreign minister, Ung Huot, as the new first prime minister is a case in point. A gift former

Australian advertising executive, Ung Huot is well known to Asean governments and, in the words of one Western analyst: "The perfect choice, wholly unimpressive, certainly a puppet."

That would suit Hun Sen's strategy of preserving the facade of the multi-party constitution that emerged from the UN-backed peace accords, peacekeeping and 1993 elections. The substance promises to be rather different.

Hun Sen, educated in Cambodia's brutal conflicts of the 1960s and 1970s, cut his political teeth as a soldier with the Khmer Rouge and later under the tutelage of Vietnam's communist rulers.

"He is unable to understand the concepts of democracy," the commentator Raoul Jennar said. "He would say you rule and they must obey."

It takes a brave man to resist. The coup, which killed more than 40 people, injured more than 200, and inflicted tens of millions of dollars of damage on the economy, was only the most drastic of his violent reactions to opposition.

Few analysts doubt that he was responsible for the attempted assassination of the opposition leader Sam Rainsy by a grenade attack on a demonstration at the end of March, which killed at least 16 people and injured more than 100.

Human rights monitors believe that since the coup his subordinates have executed more than 35 people and detained hundreds.

Cambodians are predictably guarded about venturing an opinion of their leaders, but many express bleak disapproval of Hun Sen for a coup that shattered the political framework in which, however rocky, they had glimpsed hopes of stability and prosperity.

## The Week

THE Clinton administration is backing an increase from five to 10 in the number of permanent members of the UN Security Council, including three seats for developing nations. Earlier, the UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan, unveiled plans for UN reform.  
Washington Post, page 13

AFTER a near-disaster that sent space station Mir spinning in space, Russia has delayed repairs until a fresh crew arrives on August 7.

THREE jailed ETA guerrillas condemned the murder by fellow rebels of Miguel Angel Blanco, the young Spanish politician, signalling growing divisions within the Basque separatist movement.

MARALINGA, the contaminated site in the Australian outback where Britain tested atomic weapons more than 40 years ago, is to be turned into a tourist resort.

POLICE in the US are pleading for public help in the hunt for Andrew Cunanan, the prime suspect in the fatal shooting of fashion designer Gianni Versace in Miami Beach.  
Washington Post, page 15

THE main Bosnian Serb party has expelled President Biljana Plavsic from their ranks and demanded her resignation. Mrs Plavsic has accused hard-line opponents of corruption.

RAZIL'S top Indian affairs official, Julio Gaiger, has resigned, accusing the government of failing to honour its promises to help indigenous people.

RUSSIAN president Boris Yeltsin has defied his generals and ordered that the armed forces be cut by 1.2 million men by 2000.

THE New Korea party has nominated Lee Hoi Chang, a former prime minister and supreme court judge, as its candidate to succeed President Kim Young Sam in February.

GEOLOGIST and astronomer Eugene Shoemaker has died after a car accident. Comet Shoemaker-Levy 9, which crashed into Jupiter in 1994, was named after him.

ALGERIAN troops have killed more than 90 hardline Armed Islamic Group guerrillas meeting in Bida province to discuss escalating their campaign against the government.

AN ARMED robber on the run in Johannesburg jumped into a gorilla's pen at the zoo. When the animal tried to defend his territory, he shot it twice. The gorilla recovered.

Handwritten note: "The Guardian Weekly"



## Row brews as six get nod to join EU

John Palmer in Strasbourg

THE European Commission has been told it may have to increase the number of countries with which it negotiates European Union membership beyond the recommended list it released in its Agenda 2000 report last week.

Members of the European Parliament are worried that a split in eastern Europe between applicants selected for membership and those asked to wait could inflame latent disputes over frontiers and ethnic minority communities.

In its report on enlargement, the Commission insists that only Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Slovenia and Cyprus are ready for the economic, political and legal commitments which go with EU membership.

Slovakia is told bluntly that its violations of democracy and human rights rule it out for now. To its evident anger, Turkey is also ruled out for early membership because of human rights abuses.

Bulgaria, Romania, Latvia and

Lithuania pass the test of democracy and human rights, but are advised that they must make more economic and legal reforms.

To compensate those rejected for immediate membership negotiations, the EU is proposing a "European conference" to build co-operation on foreign policy, immigration, justice and the fight against international crime.

While generally welcoming the report, Members of the European Parliament warned of the dangers of creating a new division in eastern Europe which would cut through ethnic communities. Speakers referred to the risks of a split between Hungary on the one hand, and Romania and Slovakia — which have Hungarian-speaking minorities — on the other.

The Commission president, Jacques Santer, insisted no country would be excluded once it could show it had met economic and political conditions. "There will be no such thing as 'in' countries and 'out' countries; rather there will be the 'ins' and the 'pre-ins'," he said.

The commissioner for enlargement, Hans van den Broek, said that the progress made by countries such as Romania would be reviewed annually to see if it "might justify bringing new countries into accession negotiations".

Romania may be able to join membership negotiations a year or so after they begin in January with the group of six.

Russia too has expressed its ambition to become a full member of the European Union as part of its strategy for global economic integration and closer co-operation with the West.

Speaking after meeting Mr Santer in Brussels last Saturday, the Russian prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, gave a cautious backing to the EU's decision to begin negotiations with new member states in central and eastern Europe — in marked contrast to Moscow's unhappiness about Nato enlargement.

"We are preparing for full membership of the European Union and all our efforts are designed to achieve this in due time," Mr

Chernomyrdin said. "I think that Russia should be in the European Union with all the implications and consequences, not all of which will be easy for us."

Mr Chernomyrdin said this goal took clear precedence over any concern that Russia might be put at a disadvantage by future EU enlargement to the east. Asked whether he was equally content to see one or more of the Baltic states join, he replied: "It is the European Union's own business whom they invite to join."

In private, senior EU officials expressed scepticism that Russia would ever be considered for full EU membership.

"Russia is a hugely important partner and our new agreement holds out the prospect of an eventual full customs union between Russia and the Union," a diplomat said. "In the meantime, we have to work together to achieve other desirable joint goals, such as Russia's membership of the World Trade Organisation."

Comment, page 12

## German fury at burden of contributions

Ian Traynor in Bonn

CASH-STRAPPED and increasingly fed up with funding the EU, Germany this week made a demand for more contributions from the European Union budget to be used for the reform of the EU.

The foreign minister, Klaus Kinkel, said Bonn was no longer willing to bear the burden of funding more than half the net contributions to the EU treasury, said Bavarian prime minister, Edmund Stoiber, called for negotiations next year on a new funding system.

"The aim is fairer burden-sharing among EU members," Mr Kinkel said.

The Brussels scheme has angered Bonn by leaving the EU funding system untouched. However, the budget is not the element to upset Germany, said Borchert, the German agriculture minister, has sharply criticised Commission's proposals on reform of farm subsidies, saying they are unacceptable to Bonn.

In terms of net contributions, Brussels' coffers — what a country pays in, minus what it receives from the EU budget — Germany's far and away the main EU master. Confidential audits done up by the finance ministers of Germany's 16 federal states last month estimate that from 1991-94, Germany accounted for two-thirds of net contributions to the EU. In gross terms, Germany pays 30 per cent of the EU budget, but the net level rises to almost 70 per cent when benefits from Brussels are considered.

The finance ministers' estimate showed that in 1995 Germany paid almost \$15 billion net to the EU, more than double that of France and Britain combined.

"Germany is the biggest net contributor although we're not medium-ranking in the EU prosperity league," Mr Stoiber said. He complained that Luxembourg and Denmark, for example, were richer than Germany per head of population, but were drawing out more than they pay in.

Mr Kinkel said the way contributions were calculated had changed since it penalised Germany. The EU's most populous member, Germany produced 55 per cent of the EU's GDP but paid more than half the net contributions.

The finance ministers calculated that Germany is paying more than \$6.5 billion a year too much in net contributions.

The huge costs incurred by Germany, falling tax receipts and public finances crisis are all being used to mobilise German discontent in EU funding. Over the past year, state elections are due, culminating in national elections. The EU issue is an easy target for politicians.

Mr Stoiber said the system of calculating contributions should no longer be based on a country's state's gross domestic product but on GDP per capita and purchasing power.

Austria and Italy agreed to other EU countries in lifting border controls after a meeting on the Schengen pact with Germany in Innsbruck. They will open their borders from April 1 next year.

## Agricultural reform to support farmers, not market prices

Stephen Bates in Brussels

A modest overhaul of the common agricultural policy — which absorbs nearly half the European Union's budget, or about \$45 billion a year — the European Commission last week proposed a restructuring to channel money to farmers rather than maintain artificially high prices for their produce.

The Commission also wants to allocate funds to promote the environment and more ecologically friendly farming methods. Funds would be available for hard-pressed rural communities and alternative employment.

The changes, to be introduced gradually, would be cushioned by the growing underspend of the agricultural budget — more than \$1 billion this year and double that next year, caused by buoyant prices and surpluses.

However, farmers will lose income once exposed to the open market — perhaps a 10 per cent decrease in support prices over the next decade. Franz Fischler, the agriculture commissioner, said: "Our objective is to compensate differences in income not differences in price."

This is bad news for the subsidised peasant farmers of

southern Europe with their small farms and inefficient methods, but could be good news for most British farmers who as a whole have larger, more productive farms.

The loss of subsidies such as compulsory set-aside may spur them to compete by selling their produce on world markets. The National Farmers' Union estimated that British cereal farmers could lose \$550 million in subsidies, dairy farmers \$33 million and beef producers \$150 million but that these could be offset by the freedom to sell on the world market.

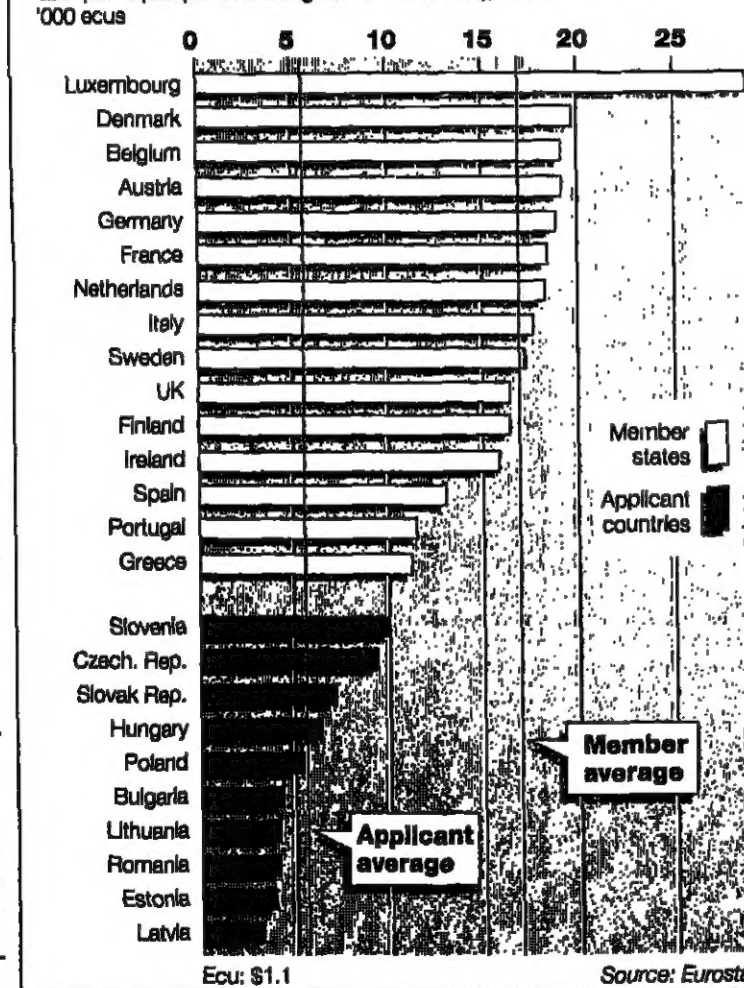
Brussels argues that cereal farmers have been over-compensated in recent years because the subsidy mechanism has not taken account of high prices.

The alternative to reform, the Commission points out, is to spend more money on storing surplus food mountains and paying for more land to be kept fallow. Farmers in Spain, France, Italy, Greece and even Germany may not object to that if they maintain their prosperity. And it will be their governments, in the council of ministers, who will ultimately decide on reform.

Le Monde, page 17

## Europe's poor relations

GDP per capita (at Purchasing Power Standards), 1995.



Eu: \$1.1

Source: Eurostat

## Big business to foot Jospin's euro bill

Alex Duval Smith in Paris

THE French Socialist government's first budget was greeted with scepticism by business leaders this week.

Aimed at bringing the deficit as close as possible to the Maastricht criteria of 3 per cent of gross domestic product, it requires big business to pay the lion's share of the bill by temporarily increasing corporation tax to one of the highest rates in Europe.

At 40 per cent, the tax on business is 9 per cent higher than in

Britain and 5 per cent higher than in the United States.

Judging it politically expedient not to call on individuals to make sacrifices for the single currency target, the prime minister, Lionel Jospin, ruled out income tax, increases or cuts to the welfare system. In 1995, his rightwing predecessor, Alain Juppé, took the opposite course and it led to a month-long general strike.

But Mr Jospin's proposal temporarily to increase corporation tax for companies with a turnover of more than 50 million francs (\$8.3

million) was criticised by the employers' organisation, the CNPF, which said: "You cannot treat companies as if they are an endless treasure trove of money from which you can help yourself to make up for excessive public spending."

The budget was timed to coincide with an official audit of state finances which put public deficit in 1997 at between 3.5 and 3.7 per cent of GDP.

The finance and industry minister, Dominique Strauss-Kahn, said government departments would save 10 billion francs this year, including 2 billion francs from defence.

He estimated that the increase in corporation tax from 36.6 per cent to 40 per cent in 1997 and 1998, and an increase in corporate capital gains tax from 19 to 41.6 per cent, would raise 23 billion francs. The total savings of 32 billion francs amounted to 0.4 per cent of GDP — enough to satisfy Maastricht criteria.

Ian Traynor in Bonn adds: The German finance minister, Theo Waigel, said he did not regard the French tax rises as cooking the books for the sake of the euro. He conceded that the euro was inconceivable without German and French participation but said he had been reassured by Paris that France would make the grade.

## Gun law returns to haunt Karachi

Suzanne Goldenberg

THEY came in and sat down opposite his desk like any other prospective clients. Naveed Hussain, an architect, rose to fetch water and rejoined his guests. The two men pulled out their guns and shot him.

He survived, and is now under police guard in Karachi's Aga Khan hospital. But he has been left unable to speak and his vision is blurred.

Nobody has been arrested for the attack, on July 8, or for the murder a few days earlier of the head of the electricity board. In a city long accustomed to violence, the attacks are seen as an ominous warning that have nearly destroyed the city in the past decade are taking on a new form.

Karachi has seen it all in the 13 years since the Mohajir Qumi Movement was created: from ethnic unrest through ruthless police repression to internecine feuding. The MQM, which claims to represent Muslims who arrived after Pakistan's independence and the division of British India 50 years ago, launched a struggle which quickly descended into violent protests, and then sheer terror.

Now the men of violence appear to have found new masters in the powerful mafias that profit from the Karachi administration's failure to provide basic services: housing, transport, employment, and even water.

Mr Hussain had dared to challenge Karachi's powerful mafia ruling the construction industry. He prodded bureaucrats to enforce zoning bylaws and take action against land grabbers.

"I asked him if he could guess who it was and he said 'no' because he had been threatened so many times before," said his brother, Mazdak, a newspaper columnist.

After February's elections, when the MQM joined the governing coalition in Sindh province, the people of Karachi hoped the peace brought by a police crackdown in 1995 would hold. Once the MQM had a slice of power, they thought, it would be in its interests to tame the gunmen who have held Karachi hostage.

But that did not happen. With the MQM in power, the gates of Karachi's central prison opened. Many of the hundreds who walked free had been jailed on trumped-up charges during the 1995 repression of the MQM. Others were not so innocent, and were determined to take revenge.

"You have gunmen for hire," said Mazdak.

About 270 people have died in the city since February, and the police appear unable to cope. The release of the militants, and the arrest of four senior officers on charges of rights abuses, have discredited the force, says Yusuf Jameel of the citizens' police liaison committee.

"If people lose confidence in our law enforcement agencies, you cannot have rule of law," he said. "The MQM admits that the killing has started again but blames the rise in violence on meddling from Pakistan's intelligence agencies."

In the past few decades, Karachi has suffered relative neglect. The MQM's war against the state drew industry from the city, deepening an employment crisis and reducing funds available for civic services.

And the mafias have picked up the pieces: supplying water, for a charge, and running public transport. The result has been chaos.

A policeman who led a crackdown on the MQM was killed in Karachi this week, police said. Aslam Hayat, aged 35, was shot by three gunmen.



Right to silence... Symbolically gagged protesters demonstrate in Hong Kong

PHOTOGRAPH BY LOU YIP

## Business moves against workers

Andrew Higgins in Hong Kong

TAM YIU-CHUNG, a former department store window dresser who now sits in the inner circle of Hong Kong's new elite, went to the London School of Economics to study trade unions just as Margaret Thatcher set about extending her victory over the miners into a general rout of British labour.

Today, he is part of a spectacle that not even Mrs Thatcher could have engineered. A leader of Hong Kong's biggest trade union, he is working hard to bury collective bargaining and overturn other modest trade union rights granted in the last days of colonial rule.

"It is easy to be a hero or a martyr but it is not always easy to explain why certain things are necessary," said Mr Tam, a veteran labour activist and appointed legislator who last week voted to suspend a raft of legislation expanding trade union powers. "Of course, I feel a bit uncomfortable."

The end of British rule has made a lot of people uncomfortable, not because they liked the British but because they disliked them. The de-

parture of Governor Chris Patten has removed what was for many, particularly in the pro-China camp, the convenient smokescreen of Sino-British struggle.

Mr Tam is vice-chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions (FTU), a Beijing-backed organisation that staged violent strikes and screamed Marxist slogans before being ordered to embrace "stability and prosperity".

Rival trade unionists say the FTU's loyalty to Beijing has meant selling out the workers to serve the tycoons in whose hands the Chinese Communist Party has placed the management of Hong Kong. Mr Tam sits in the executive council of Tung Chee-hwa, who took over from Mr Patten. He also has a seat in a handpicked legislature stacked with businessmen.

"There is an unholy alliance between tycoons and trade unionists," said Lee Cheuk-yan, author of the labour rights approved by the old legislature in June and suspended by its replacement last week.

"Behind this alliance is Beijing. China decides the general policy in Hong Kong. And the most impor-

tant part of this policy for the Chinese government is not Hong Kong people running Hong Kong but Hong Kong tycoons running Hong Kong."

Mr Tung's decision to make suspension of labour laws the first task for a new legislature reflects the power of the ascendant business lobby.

"Now the handover has happened, the businessmen are getting their revenge," said Mr Lee, who leads the Confederation of Trade Unions, a smaller, more vociferous rival to the FTU. "The business sector has complete control of the current administration. They have nothing to worry about."

Laws enshrining collective bargaining and other trade union rights have not been repealed, the government says, merely frozen pending review. But this suggests only a ruse to deflect criticism.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions condemned the freezing of new rights as "a slap in the face for Hong Kong workers, who were the source of Hong Kong's economic miracle."

## Truth that lies buried in Congo's killing fields

Chris McGreal in

Bukavu uncovers strong new evidence of genocide

SIX villagers led the way up the narrow path off the main road about 15km from Bukavu, on the far eastern border of the former Zaire. One carried a spade. He knew where he was headed, but the final marker was an arm which rigor mortis had slowly wormed out of the ground to beckon him towards the first of the mounds.

The man went to work with a shovel. He did not have to dig deep to uncover first one, then three, mutilated corpses.

These ones died slowly. See, he has no eyes. They killed others just over there. Maybe 20 or 30 are buried there.

Two of the villagers witnessed the killings of the three men. They said the victims were Rwandan or Burundian Hutus. "The killers were Tutsis. They weren't from here. They had smart uniforms. I'm sure they were Rwandan," said the man with the spade.

The villagers described how the soldiers descended in January.

They rounded up a few dozen people they believed to be Hutus from across the border, including women and children. Some were allowed to go. The rest were killed. Among them was one of the men in the opened grave. He was hit about the head with a gun. His nose and face were smashed with a rock. Then one of the soldiers pierced his eyes with his bayonet. As he turned on the ground, the "rebels" turned their attention to the other two men. The villagers were later forced to bury them.

The admission by Rwanda's defence minister and vice-president, General Paul Kagame, that his largely Tutsi army led Laurent Kabila's rebellion in the rechristened Congo has reinforced suspicions that his soldiers also played a leading role in the systematic murder of Hutu refugees — remnants of the 1 million Rwandans who fled into then-Zaire in 1994.

Most were driven home to Rwanda at the outbreak of the rebellion in Zaire in October, but more than 200,000 who headed west were hunted across 1,000 miles of then-Zaire territory through the eight-month war. Among them were militiamen responsible for the geno-

cide of Rwanda's Tutsis three years ago, but there were also many women and children.

Aid workers and United Nations officials accuse Mr Kabila's troops of sentencing thousands of people to death by exhaustion and hunger. Others were doomed by the many diseases thriving in the Congo basin's rainforests. But there is also growing evidence of killings by military death squads, some led by Rwandan soldiers.

Roberto Garretón, the Chilean lawyer appointed by the UN to investigate allegations of massacres, issued a report this month identifying the sites of 134 mass killings blamed on Mr Kabila's army or those backing it. "The methods used were deliberate, premeditated massacres," said the report.

Mr Kabila's government accuses those refugees who say they witnessed killings of lying. The foreign minister, Blaise Karaha, said the only mass graves in Congo were for the victims of cholera or murders by Hutu extremists.

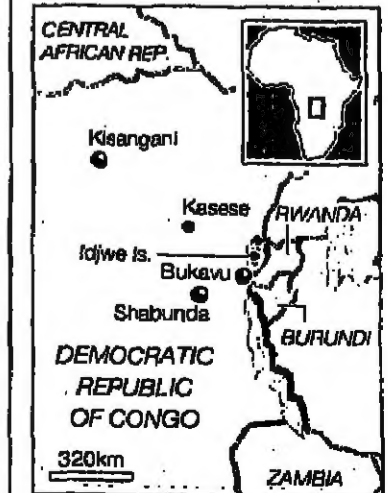
No one knows how many genuine refugees are missing, let alone the number dead. The UN says more than 40,000 people are unaccounted for around Kisangani alone.

The European Union and the United States have said future aid to the bankrupt country — its coffers long plundered by the exiled, ailing despot Mobutu Sese Seko — depends on full co-operation with the UN investigation. That did not stop Mr Kabila blocking it while demanding Mr Garretón's removal. The UN has bowed to the pressure. A new investigator is expected to be appointed shortly, but the delay has bought more time to destroy evidence.

Around Bukavu, forces fighting for Mr Kabila killed several hundred Rwandan and Burundian Hutus at Chimanga camp, 40km from the city, in November.

Among the main killing fields is Shabunda, where there are eye-witness accounts of Rwandan-led squads carrying out summary executions of Hutu men. A Rwandan army officer, known to UN officials as "The Terminator", is said to have boasted his mission was to pursue Hutu refugees.

Credible witnesses report at least three mass graves in the Shabunda area, thought to contain the corpses of thousands of people, including children and babies.





Burma's nationalist hero was killed 50 years ago this month. **Fergal Keane** uncovers new evidence about one of the most catastrophic murders of modern times

## Was Britain behind Aung San's death?

IN THE heart of Rangoon, among the mildewed remains of the long-gone colonial age, is a building where one of the most fateful crimes of the post-colonial era was enacted. A vast rectangular construction of red stone with a guard post at each corner, it is fringed by thick vegetation, giving it the appearance of a lost temple that has burst out of Rangoon's urban jungle.

When the British ruled Burma this was the seat of imperial power. The great red building, known as the Secretariat, was where Burma's nationalist hero, Aung San, and five of his ministers were murdered at 10.37 in the morning of July 19, 1947, during a cabinet meeting. With his murder Burma was plunged into political chaos, the ultimate result of which would be the ride to power of the military and decades of isolation and repression.

When he died, Aung San left behind a two-year-old daughter, Aung San Suu Kyi, who would go on to become leader of the country's National League for Democracy and who is now the worldwide symbol of resistance to military oppression in Burma. She has made frequent references to her father's influence on her life: "When I was under house arrest I used to look up at his picture and imagine that he was here with me and that it was the two of us against them," she once said. Suu Kyi believes passionately that her father's death robbed Burma of the prospect of peace.

There is substantial evidence to support her case. For 50 years Burma has been racked by civil war, ethnic conflict and military repression. But in 1947, with Aung San as leader, the prospects looked bright. He was 32 years old when he died, but he had packed a lot into his short life. Dedicated to independence since his student days, he was a prominent member of the most radical nationalist group known as the "Thakins" — "masters" — the word used by Burmese to address their British superiors.

When the war in Europe started Thakin leaders were detained. Aung San stowed away, bound for China, to contact Mao Zedong. Instead he was picked up by Japanese intelligence and taken to Tokyo.

The Japanese wanted to invade Burma, to close the supply route to their Chinese enemies, and to open their own route to India. Aung San co-operated, believing he would thereby achieve an independent Burma. He became commander of the Burma Independence Army, which was to fight alongside the Japanese and other enemy of the British Empire, Subhas Chandra Bose and his Indian National Army.

At the end of the war Aung San was indisputably the most significant figure in Burmese politics. In 1947, he negotiated Burma's independence from Britain with Clement Attlee. His assassination was one of the most catastrophic political murders of modern times — in relative terms more destructive even than the killing of John F. Kennedy. And, like that more famous death, it is also shrouded in mystery.

The official history says a rival Burmese politician motivated by revenge and jealousy killed Aung San. But recently declassified British government documents and new witnesses have thrown new light on the mystery.

What is not disputed is that Aung San and his cabinet members were killed by gunmen who then returned cheering to the house of a former Burmese prime minister, U Saw.

Carlyle Seppings, the British CID officer who arrested U Saw, remembers his coolness. "He was sitting in his armchair sipping whisky. When I burst in through the door all he said was 'There must be some mistake, get me the Governor's secretary on the phone at once'."

The police dragged the lake by U Saw's house and found a large collection of sealed oil drums filled with automatic weapons and ammunition, enough for a small army and certainly part of a planned seizure of power. These weapons and the guns that killed Aung San and his cabinet were soon traced to thefts arranged by two serving British army officers, Captain David Vivian and Major Henry Young. But the plot went far wider than this.

From his prison cell, U Saw smuggled out secret letters to Captain Vivian. In one he asked for advice in contacting what he termed "the tall gentleman". Vivian replied that they should wait. The police had been monitoring this correspondence and now decided to force U Saw's hand. They faked a letter from another accomplice advising that the "tall gentleman" be contacted immediately, whereupon U Saw wrote a letter to John Stewart Bingley, the British Council representative in Rangoon. He was 61 then.

In January 1942, he joined the Japanese invasion: the British retreated in chaos. But the Japanese military administration proved ruthless, and the independence granted in August 1943 was on paper only. Aung San was deeply dissatisfied and planned to join the Allies. Churchill was appalled. He regarded Aung San as the "traitor rebel of a quailing army". But Louis

Mountbatten, the Supreme Allied Commander in South-east Asia, regarded Aung San as a potentially useful asset against the retreating Japanese. So it was that 30-year-old Aung San led the Burmese national army across to the British just in time for victory in Rangoon.



Aung San, far right, with his wife and family including, front, his daughter Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of Burma's democracy movement

The contents of the letter were explosive: in it U Saw threatened to make "disclosures that would have international repercussions". He sounded an even more ominous note in a later letter when he demanded Bingley's assistance on the grounds that he had "taken a grave risk as advised".

Before the assassination, Bingley had been spending a lot of time with U Saw. According to Major Young, Bingley had told U Saw at a tea party: "You know, we're all ready to support you". Bingley claimed diplomatic immunity and was eventually allowed to leave Burma.

Meanwhile Carlyle Seppings was turning up evidence of the involvement of other British officers, but was ordered to stop his investigation. The police chief told him: "This is getting too big for both you and me, and if we are not careful we are going to tread on some very important corners." U Saw was convicted of conspiracy to murder and sentenced to death. He always publicly denied his guilt.

Two days before the execution, Seppings went to visit him in prison to ask why he had not fled after the murders. "U Saw told me he expected to be given the job of prime minister after Aung San was dead. He said 'Government House told me things would be all right'." U Saw was hanged on May 1, 1948.

AFTER the hanging came the trial of Captain Vivian, charged with arranging arms thefts and conspiracy with U Saw. Vivian claimed darkly "some-one in England is interested in seeing me put away and not allowed to talk. If I could tell the facts there would be a huge rumpus between the British and the Burmese".

He was convicted and sentenced to five years but escaped the following year. Files on Captain Vivian show many of the official papers on

him are still secret. After pressure, the Foreign Office did release them but with heavy deletions. Vivian died in Swansea in 1971. His son says he left papers with his solicitor with instructions for them to be burned at his death, so we will never know Vivian's full story.

One file on the affair in the Public Record Office was made available in 1996. In a top secret memo to Whitehall by the British ambassador in Rangoon, Carlyle Seppings's former boss, Tun Hla Oung, is reported as being "now virtually convinced that there was British complicity in the assassinations". Tun Hla Oung believes U Saw was working with British support for the overthrow of Aung San's government. He thinks John Stewart Bingley was the middleman between U Saw and a powerful group of people in London led by a former Governor of Burma and Conservative cabinet minister, Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith.

Two days after the assassination, the Labour MP Tom Driberg stood up in the House of Commons and said: "The moral guilt of the assassinations attaches less, perhaps, to the brutal gunmen in Rangoon than to the comfortable Conservative gentlemen here who incited U Saw to treachery and sabotage."

Prime Minister Attlee was then pressed by Eden to confirm that the Tory Opposition had "no connection with this outrage". Attlee replied that "nobody would believe" there was any connection.

And no one did. Until now. Other documents released by the Foreign Office reveal a conspiratorial group of Conservative politicians, soldiers and other public figures who were devoted to the overthrow of the government of independent Burma before and after the transfer of power in 1948.

The documents show that the group — the Friends of the Burma

U Saw (left) was sitting in his armchair sipping whisky. He said: 'There must be some mistake, get me the Governor's secretary at once'

Hill Peoples — was formed in early 1947, five months before Aung San was killed and a U Saw was in London as part of independence negotiations. One of the founding members, Frank Owen, editor of the *U Mail*. The connections between this group and U Saw's plot to kill Aung San are disputed.

The key figure was Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, who had ruled the country through U Saw when he was prime minister there during the war. When Dorman-Smith returned to Burma as governor after the war, he had refused to deal with Aung San. This refusal, and his personal hatred of the nationalist leader, led to his recall to London in 1946.

THE group believed in a rate of independence for Burma's ethnic minorities, especially the Karens, who had been adamant on gaining independence from Burma since the end of the war, and not without reason. In 1942, when Aung San led the Burmese Independence Army into Burma with the Japanese, the Karens remained loyal to the British. Aung San's troops massacred whole villages, creating a appalling legacy of distrust which survives to this day.

After the war, Aung San and others argued that the Karens had been detached from the rest of the Burmese people and that separating the nations would be disastrous. The Attlee government agreed but not in Conservative circles did not.

Dorman-Smith and his friends felt strongly that they should not let down their loyal wartime allies. They also felt that Aung San and his nationalist leadership might lead Burma into the communist world, whereas the Karens claimed Karenistan, included some Burma's richest mineral and deposits.

The Friends thought they were pursuing a noble cause. But it was involved in the killing of Aung San, as the evidence suggests, they were responsible for the single most damaging act in the history of Burma. It is a lesson we would do well to remember: that repression can be rooted in yesterday's short-sighted political calculation.

Merlin Walker is on holiday

The Week in Britain James Lewis

## Dearing report marks end of free higher education

THE CHERISHED ideal of free higher education for all has finally been abandoned with the Government accepting the central findings of the Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, chaired by Sir Ron Dearing, which is likely to recommend that students should contribute towards the costs of their university tuition.

University tuition ceased to be "free" many years ago when the value of the state's maintenance grant was pegged and a loan scheme introduced to cover the shortfall. Most graduates now leave university with a debt to be repaid once they get jobs.

In future, however, students will also be required to pay £1,000 a year towards the cost of their tuition but, to soften the impact, the Government is expected to exempt those whose parents earn less than £16,000. It may also exempt trainee teachers and doctors, to encourage young people into the caring professions.

A sliding scale of fees will operate where parental incomes are between £16,000 and £34,000, at which point the full £1,000 becomes payable. A middle-class backlash cannot be ruled out, and some complained that "New Labour, New Mortgage" was not what they voted for on May 1. Overall, however, the Dearing plans were greeted with a sense of inevitability.

For those whose parents cannot or will not shoulder the burden, a new loan scheme will allow students to borrow up to £3,000 a year, so graduates could start their working lives with a debt of around £10,000 to repay. Even so, the extra money raised — £1 billion by 2002 — falls far short of the higher education funding gap. This already stands at £2 billion, and university vice-chancellors and principals threatened at one stage to impose their own "top-up" fees without waiting for the Dearing report.

A NEW system of retirement pensions will be in place before the next general election if a wide-ranging policy review comes up with some workable solutions for eventually reducing reliance on the state pension which, at its basic level, is now worth only £62.45 for a single person or £99.80 for a couple.

The review will focus on ways of ensuring that more people have a second-tier pension. Central to this is the idea of a "stakeholder" scheme under which the private sector would offer approved, low-cost and flexible arrangements to suit the needs of individuals who have no occupational pensions.

"Citizenship" pensions are planned for those who spend their lives caring for children or dependent relatives and who, for one reason or another, earn too little to be able to contribute to a second pension. The details of this, however, are worryingly vague.

Since pension reform carries much political risk for little political reward, the Government's decision to act was generally considered to be a brave one. But it could be hard to restore public trust in private pensions. That was undermined by the 1980s scandal over mis-selling

and, more recently, by the Chancellor's unexpected budget raid on pension funds.

A LEADING pro-euthanasia doctor, Dr Michael Irwin, admitted helping as many as 50 terminally ill patients to die and provoked the British Medical Association into calling for a murder investigation. Dr Irwin, of Hove, East Sussex, said he was trying to expose the hypocrisy of the "double effect" principle. "Double effect is where doctors will prescribe pain killers or sedatives so that increasing doses are given to kill the pain and, incidentally, the patient dies." Most good doctors had done this but would "never admit that they have given it to honour a patient's request to die".

Dr Irwin, who is chairman of the Voluntary Euthanasia Society, is campaigning for a change in the 1961 Suicide Act, which makes it an offence for a doctor to aid or abet suicide. But the BMA, at its conference earlier this month, voted to oppose legalising euthanasia.

THE campaigning Data Protection Registrar, Elizabeth France, called on the public to be more assertive about challenging government and commercial agencies, which were amassing an unprecedented amount of information on individuals.

Although organisations that hold personal information on computers are legally required to register with the Data Protection Agency, Mrs France complained that security and intelligence services refused to claim exemption on grounds of "national security". This denied the public the right to know what information was held about them.

CRIMINAL charges are to be brought against the Milford Haven Port Authority and its harbour master, Clive Andrews, for their role in the Sea Empress oil tanker disaster in February last year, when more than 58,000 tonnes of crude oil spilled on to the Pembrokeshire coast.

An inquiry blamed the inexperience and lack of training of the harbour pilot, the failure to use enough tugs, and "confrontation" between pilots and the port authority.



Austin

## GP fundholding under the knife

Chris Mihill

THE two-tier system of GP fundholding will be scrapped from next April, ending one of the most controversial Tory reforms.

Fundholding doctors with their own budgets will no longer be able to buy care for their patients ahead of equally sick patients from non-fundholding practices.

The Health Secretary, Frank Dobson, said that in future patients could be sure they would be admitted to hospital on the basis of clinical need alone, not who was paying.

"This is the beginning of the end of the two-tier NHS. This Government's manifesto commitment is to a health service where access is based on need and need alone — not on your ability to pay or who your GP happens to be."

"It is also good news for doctors

and other NHS staff, many of whom have found the unfair two-tier system repugnant to administer."

Mr Dobson said NHS chief executive Alan Langlands would be writing to health authority and trust chief executives telling them that trusts must continue to operate a common waiting list for urgent admissions regardless of who is commissioning the care.

In addition, health authorities must have maximum waiting time standards common to all patients. Within that common standard the admission of residents for non-urgent treatment must be solely on the basis of clinical priority.

"At present a health authority or GP fundholder can make contracts with a hospital to treat patients in a certain time. This means sometimes clinical priority goes out of the window and patients are admitted just to meet contracts," Mr Dobson said.

"We want to ensure that hospitals give preference to urgent patients over the needs of non-urgent patients," he said.

The announcement was welcomed by the British Medical Association, which stressed that equity should not be delivered at the expense of quality. Ian Hoyle, chairman of the association's family doctor committee, said: "This is an opportunity for levelling up, not levelling down."

London's health services need a watchdog agency to ensure high-quality services across the capital, the King's Fund, an independent health think-tank, said.

In addition, a capital-wide agency was needed to co-ordinate Private Finance Initiative hospital schemes, so buildings were placed where they were most useful, rather than health authorities each commissioning projects.



Camilla Parker Bowles arriving at Highgrove with her brother-in-law Simon Elliot PHOTO: BARRY BACHELOR

## Highgrove party sparks debate on accession

PRINCE Charles put his relationship with his lover Camilla Parker Bowles on a public footing last week when he threw a lavish party to celebrate her 50th birthday at his mansion in Gloucestershire, writes *Susie Steiner*.

Mrs Parker Bowles, wearing a navy sleeveless silk dress with a diamond and pearl necklace, was first to arrive for the five-course dinner, held in a

marquee in Highgrove's grounds. The party has been interpreted as an attempt to bring their relationship into the open. But it has intensified debate over the prince becoming head of the Church of England on accession to the throne, and whether he can maintain such a position after having admitted a 25-year adulterous relationship.

The Labour MP Tony Wright, who chairs a Commons all-party

group on the constitution, said the question of marriage had to be resolved. Speaking on BBC radio, he suggested the Church of England "live with" the prince's choice of lifestyle.

However, the Rev John Hawthorne, vicar of Tetbury, near Highgrove, said: "I do not see how he could be Defender of the Faith of a church whose laws he is ignoring, being an admitted adulterer."

## Parents, how are you hanging?

Sarah Bossoley

HOW DO you know if you have been insulted by a teenager? Unless you are under 20 yourself, it is hard to know whether to cuff them round the ear or give them a kiss, but if they call you a grumpy, ferret, fake or a spoon, do not respond with a weak smile.

Teen-speak changes so fast that it can make a parent grey (stressed) and changed (tired) just trying to get their head around it, even after a bankers (fun) day at the office when you might have come home buzzing or dogged (excellent).

If your little bundle of joy asks you how you are hanging, stay cool. She is inquiring after your emo-

tional welfare, and the correct reply is either high (happy) or low (sad).

When the lad comes in late and cannot speak, you may have clicked him scummed on peeve — caught him drunk on alcohol. Don't worry if he asks you for snash or scan, he wants money, not drugs, and you can always say no.

This insight into the language of teenagers comes from a survey of 800 schoolchildren aged 11 to 18 by Dillons and Oxford Dictionaries. They found an abundance of insults as well as big regional variations. Even those on the Planet Teen will not always understand each other.

In Glasgow, you might be called a mighhawk, in Peterborough or Poole, skanky, in Brighton, scrag, or

in Exeter, mong. None of them is flattering. Lush, totty, gorge, lagging and fine are compliments. Skank, munt and rank are not — they mean horrible, unattractive, and truly awful.

Jennie Miel from Oxford Dictionaries said the list included some words which were being revived by the young, including spoon — idiot — a word first recorded with that meaning in 1709.

"A similar survey last year reported a quite different set of words, which underlines how changeable teenage slang tends to be. At this stage it is impossible to predict which words or usage will become sufficiently established for inclusion in a dictionary."

He is in it



## Bad teachers face fast-track sacking

Donald MacLeod and John Garvel

**I**NCOMPETENT teachers will face the sack within a month, it was disclosed last week, as the Government steps up its purge on poor performance in the classroom. The plan, which outraged teachers' unions, is being drawn up for inclusion in Labour's flagship Education Bill.

Fast-track methods of removing unsatisfactory teachers will include a new category of "gross incompetence", which could lead to dismissal in a month.

Thousands of incompetent teachers could be removed in six months under the streamlined procedures drawn up by local education authorities and civil servants. At present capability proceedings can take up to two years and are little used.

The Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) has changed its rules to make it harder for inspectors to duck tough verdicts on teachers.

Meanwhile local authorities will be given a bigger role in triggering incompetency proceedings for both classroom staff and head teachers because school governing bodies have been reluctant to use their powers to dismiss staff.

The School Standards Minister, Stephen Byers, welcomed the proposals in a letter to Graham Lane, education chairman of the Local Government Association. But he made it clear the group must achieve its objective of a streamlined system even if unions did not agree.

tence was rare. "It is when a teacher is clearly totally incapable of handling a class."

The head teacher should interview the member of staff concerned with his or her union representative and issue a final warning. In less extreme cases of incompetence teachers would be given a chance to improve within the proposed six month period.

The chief inspector of schools, Chris Woodhead, angered teachers with claims there were 15,000 incompetent teachers in schools. Ofsted inspectors identified only 88 last year.

Under current rules, inspectors grade lessons on a seven-point scale. They are obliged to tell heads when they find a first-class teacher with a majority of lessons in grades one or two (excellent or very good). They must also identify the worst teachers whose lessons score six or seven (poor or very poor).

From September, inspectors will for the first time report to heads on the performance of all their staff without having to give reasons to the teachers.

Nigel de Gruchy, general secretary of the National Association of Schoolmasters' Union of Women Teachers, said it was another stick to beat teachers. "We are going to see a crude system of judge-and-run by Ofsted inspectors, often basing their views on visits of between 10 and 15 minutes to each lesson. Everyone agrees that incompetent teachers should be appropriately dealt with, but setting up such a crude system is an insult to the professionalism of most teachers."

Mr Lane said gross incompetence was rare. "It is when a teacher is clearly totally incapable of handling a class."

## Cook sets out ethical policy on global 'evil'

Ian Black and Michael White

**P**UTTING flesh on the bones of Britain's ethical foreign policy, Robin Cook pledged last week to provide new money for the international war crimes tribunal and to change the rules for exporting riot-control equipment and small arms to oppressive regimes.

Addressing an audience of charities and aid agencies, the Foreign Secretary set out 12 practical points he said could help improve the observance of human rights — a key theme of Labour's global agenda.

"It is not acceptable to try to evade our obligation by pleading that there is too much evil in the world for us to put it right. Our contribution can make a difference," he said in a detailed follow-up of his post-election mission statement.

"If we and our allies maintain international criticism, some regimes will refrain from excesses of violent repression. If we and others encourage reform, some countries will improve their police and justice systems."

He said Britain was donating £330,000 to be spent on building an extra courtroom for the war crimes tribunal in The Hague to speed up its work, and was looking for ways to provide more cash for the Rwanda tribunal.

Mr Cook said the results of a Whitehall-wide review of the criteria used in the licensing of weapons ex-

ports, which was started last month, would be published shortly.

"They will result in changes to the present policy governing the licensing of riot-control vehicles, small arms and other equipment for sale to the security forces of certain regimes," he said.

Mr Cook made no mention of Britain's £20 billion Al-Yamamah defence sales deal with Saudi Arabia, a regional ally with a poor human rights record.

The Government later moved to reassure anxious Labour MPs that the proposed £160 million sale of 16 Hawk trainer jets to Indonesia will not finally be decided until the Foreign Office's ethical review of military exports is completed.

The decision relies on a distinction between internal repression and external defence. But some non-governmental bodies say such a distinction misses the point, because the purchase of arms confers international respectability.

Mr Cook promised to:

- argue for the continued suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth unless there was a radical transformation in its behaviour;
- support UN sanctions against Iraq;
- back measures to ensure that trade contributed to human rights rather than detracted from them, including efforts to stamp out child labour and exploitation.

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Mud bath... Glastonbury festival goers wallow in the mud which is suspected to be the source of the E.coli infection following last month's festival

## Blair dampens down hopes of wider PR

Ewen MacAskill

**T**ONY BLAIR is determined to dash Liberal Democrat hopes of introducing proportional representation for Westminster elections, in spite of agreeing to it for the European Parliament.

As the Cabinet last week approved a PR voting system for the European Parliament election in 1999, government sources stressed it should not be interpreted as a move towards PR for Westminster.

Mr Blair was said to be implacably hostile to the idea of PR for Westminster and hoped that the European Parliament concession will be enough to placate the Liberal Democrats. His distaste for PR is so strong that he was on the verge of vetoing it for the European Parliament.

Downing Street said a manifesto commitment will be honoured by setting up a commission in the autumn to look at reforming the sys-

tem for Westminster elections. A referendum on changing the British electoral system will be held in the lifetime of this Parliament, possibly in 1999.

But the prospect of PR replacing first-past-the-post for Westminster looks unlikely, given the opposition of the Prime Minister and most of the Cabinet. Only the Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, the Northern Ireland Secretary, Mo Mowlam, and the Agriculture Minister, Dr Jack Cunningham, support it.

The PR system finally agreed by the Cabinet for the Euro elections is based on regional lists. Instead of constituencies returning one member, the electorate will be lumped into regions and asked to vote for lists of candidates drawn up by the parties.

The Home Secretary, Jack Straw, one of the Cabinet ministers most hostile to PR, said: "I have personally taken the view that you should

have a system which is fair for the body for which elections are being run. So far as European elections are concerned, European Parliament is an executive body, so arguments strong and weak government arise. It is a representative body."

Mr Blair last week said: "I tell doubting voters that the vote of the Welsh Office's £100 million will bring more jobs, improve public services."

Despite doubts that the people will back the system, so decisively rejected in Mr Blair's speech in Mid-Glamorgan, a prediction of a decisive vote in the referendum, the fear of a low turnout.

The Scottish and Welsh election referendums will be held next week apart, on September 18, the Government has said.

## 'New deal' for lone parents

**O**NE mothers on benefit will not be dragged into taking jobs against their wishes, Alan Howarth, a minister responsible for welfare-to-work policy, guaranteed on Monday as the Government launched its "new deal" for lone parents, writes David Brindle.

He said the Conservatives' "harsh attitude and policies" towards lone parents was a key reason he had defected to Labour from the Conservatives during the last parliament.

"We are not in any way seeking to pressurise people into doing what isn't right for them or their children," Mr Howarth said.

Under the plan, being piloted in eight areas, lone parents living on benefit with school-age children will be "invited" to interview to discuss working with a personal adviser on ways of finding employment.

Ministers are promising improved childcare services to back up the scheme, with details of childcare, training and job opportunities made available on computer in libraries and other public buildings.

## Nolan blow to inquiry into secret political funding

David Hencke

**T**ONY BLAIR's election commitment to order an inquiry into secret Conservative party donors has been dealt a severe blow by Lord Nolan, head of the Commission on Standards in Public Life.

He has rejected a request from the Prime Minister to launch a full-scale inquiry into party political funding while he remains chairman of the commission. He stands down in October.

The decision spares the Conservative party from a highly embarrassing inquiry that would highlight again the shadowy world of its foreign supporters. These include the fugitive Ali Nadir and a tranche of foreign millionaire donors from Hong Kong.

One reason for the decision given by some committee members is that the Labour government was trying to bounce the commission into an independent inquiry when the previous administration had already decided to ban foreign donations and end secrecy for British donations above £5,000.

But Lord Nolan is said to have told ministers that his main reason

for not undertaking an inquiry was that he wants instead to see a view of his work over the past years. This will include a report into Parliament's standards and the effectiveness of the parliamentary register of interests.

The Commons standards committee may be reopened hearings into the questions scandal after a 37-page submission from a minister, Neil Hamilton, who has suffered a "miscarriage of justice" over findings by the Secretary of State for Wales.

If he is granted a hearing, key witnesses, including Philip English, the owner of the five law lords who freed him last week, will be called.

Philip English's conviction for the murder of Sergeant Bill Forth in Gateshead in March 1993 was overturned by the Court of Appeal after the House of Lords ruled that he should not have been convicted.

The policeman was stabbed by a friend of English, Paul Weddle, then aged 25, and the youth claimed he was unaware that Weddle had a knife.

English was aged 15 at the time

GUARDIAN WEEKLY  
July 27 1997

## Lottery faces good causes shake-up

Andrew Gull and Rebecca Smithers

**T**HE five original National Lottery good causes could receive 30 per cent less than they expected because of government plans to divert £1 billion into health and education.

Lottery experts said this week that the creation of the sixth good cause — the New Opportunities Fund — would have a severe impact on the arts, charities, national heritage, millennium and sport in the three years ending in 2001.

Luke FitzHerbert, author of the independent National Lottery Yearbook, said they were likely to receive about £130 million a year each instead of the £200 million they had been expecting, following this week's publication of the white paper, *The People's Lottery*.

Chris Smith, the Culture, Media and Sport Secretary, said the package "would mark a turning point in the fortunes of the National Lottery. It will make it even more popular and even more relevant to people's lives."

He said the sixth good cause and the National Endowment for Science, Technology and Arts (Nesta) would receive £1 billion by 2001 —

but the five good causes would still receive £1.8 billion each over the current seven-year lottery licence.

The additional stream of funding was made possible by the extra revenue generated by the midweek draw. Mr Smith insisted none of the projects which had been awarded lottery funding would be scrapped.

The white paper appeared to soft-pedal on the manifesto commitment to award the next licence to a not-for-profit operator. It warned against disproportionate profits, but floated the idea of providing incentives for an efficiently run lottery, or a management fee for operating it.

Virginia Bottomley, the former national heritage secretary, said Labour had breached the principle that lottery money should not be spent on projects normally financed by taxation. "The jackpot winners are the Treasury. The successful lottery will be seriously damaged."

The Government says it would welcome proposals for the award of a new licence in 2001 that would maximise the return to good causes and remove unnecessary profits margins. Its aim is to provide an incentive to operate efficiently, encourage the maximum number of competitive bids, and avoid excessive returns to the operator.

## Blacks 'lose out' under Blair

Alan Travis

**L**ABOUR is not giving black and Asian people a big enough role in Tony Blair's new Britain, according to the country's leading race equality campaigner.

Sir Herman Ouseley, chief executive of the Commission for Racial Equality, has told race activists privately: "Just look around the inner circle [of Cabinet]. Who do you see there? It is not happening. There is no visibility. In the outer circle there are only one or two people. The frustration is building up."

Leading anti-racist campaigners are frustrated because Labour has hit the ground running on many other issues.

The commission's chief executive is thought to have been encouraged by isolated initiatives since May. Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, asked for the commission's help with the higher echelons of the

Foreign Office, which are "very white and very male", and with the shortage of black faces among career diplomats. There are only 190 ethnic minority Britons among the 5,900 Foreign Office employees, none in senior management.

But Labour's black and Asian MPs are also critical of the almost total lack of ethnic minority faces among the very senior civil service. The latest Cabinet Office figures show there are only two black or Asian people in the top four grades of the Civil Service. In the next grade there are only 58 ethnic minority people out of 3,000 Whitehall policy makers.

Some of Labour's black and Asian MPs want race equality higher on the agenda. They have been disappointed by the lack of a blueprint and contrast the Government's inaction with President Clinton's strong support for affirmative action programmes.

## Historic ruling frees jailed teenager

Clare Dyer

**A** 500-year-old law under which a youth was jailed for life for murdering a policeman, although he was 100 yards away from the stabbing and in handcuffs, looks likely to be changed by the five law lords who freed him last week.

Philip English's conviction for the murder of Sergeant Bill Forth in Gateshead in March 1993 was overturned by the Court of Appeal after the House of Lords ruled that he should not have been convicted.

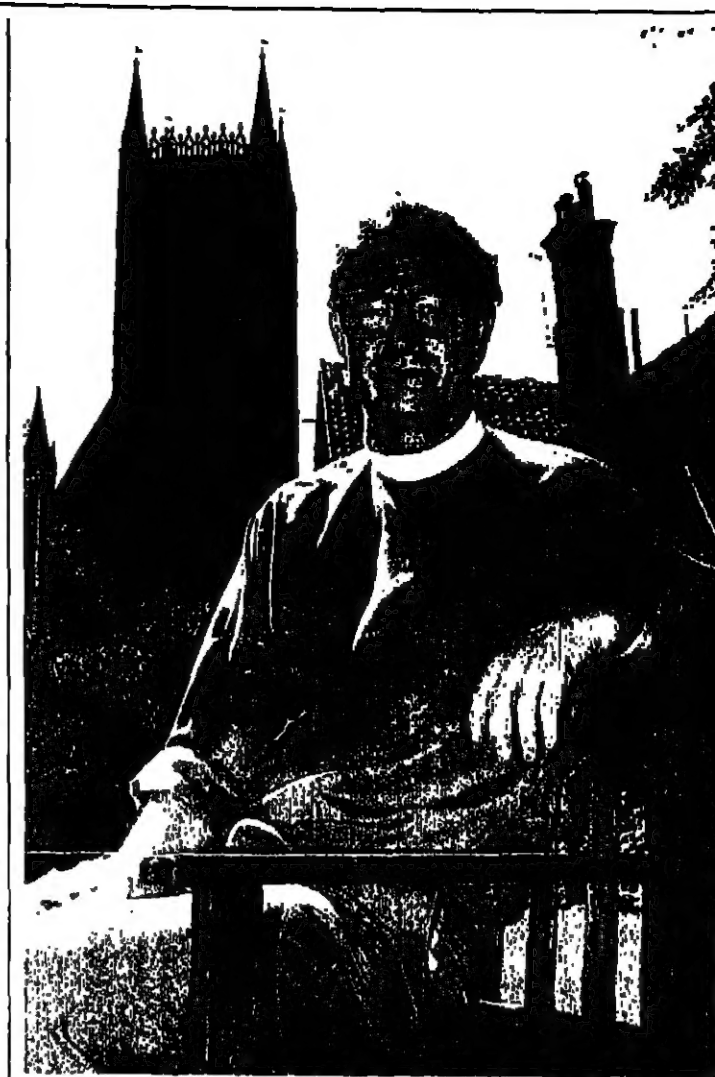
The policeman was stabbed by a friend of English, Paul Weddle, then aged 25, and the youth claimed he was unaware that Weddle had a knife.

of the killing and is believed to be the youngest person convicted of murdering a policeman.

Emerging from Moorlands Young Offender Institution near Doncaster, South Yorkshire, a pale and dazed Philip English said: "It has been hard inside, very hard. I'm not bothered about compensation. It's the family I've got to thank more than anyone else in the world for keeping up the fight to get me out."

His release follows a long campaign by his stepmother, Mandy English, who was "ecstatic" at the outcome.

The ruling is a landmark decision on the complex law of "joint enterprise", the same law under which Derek Bentley was executed in 1953 for the murder of a policeman by



Jackson... 'Time to declare the innings closed'

## Turbulent dean resigns

**T**HE rancorous dispute at Lincoln Cathedral which has embarrassed the Church of England for nearly a decade is expected to end after Monday's resignation of Dean Brandon Jackson and the predicted departure of his opponent, the Sub-Dean, Rex Davis, writes Martin Wainwright.

The resignation should close an episode which has seen the local bishop scorned, the Archbishop of Canterbury defied, and most of the deadly sins attributed to the warring clergy.

Mr Jackson said: "It has become increasingly clear that I have been at the wicket too long... The only sensible thing is to declare the innings closed."

Pressure on Canon Davis, aged 63, was immediately stepped up with fresh calls for his departure.

The quarrel, which stemmed

from a crude attempt to use Dean Jackson's vigour to clear out a cathedral chapter accused of idleness and complacency, has at least been instrumental in the sweeping reforms of cathedral management now making their way through the church's general synod.

The appointment of the dean was backed by the then prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, who said with some satisfaction that there would be "blood on the floor" of her native county's cathedral when he had finished.

But Dean Jackson's assault on the chapter's ruling canons — ranging from claims of incompetence over a money-losing tour by Lincoln's original of Magna Carta to charges that the cathedral needed "exorcising of evil" — foundered on the fact that they, like him, could not be sacked.

secondary party envisages that his partner might do serious harm, both are guilty of murder if death results.

Sgt Forth was stabbed after answering a call to a dispute between Weddle and his girlfriend at a house on the Cloverhill estate in Gateshead, English and Weddle became involved in a stick fight with the victim and another policeman.

English struck Sgt Forth, who was tackling Weddle, with a fencing stave, but ran away when chased by the other officer. He was in a nearby street under arrest when Weddle stabbed Sgt Forth nine times in the chest.

English's solicitor, Adrian Clarke, said the law should be clarified so that a secondary party would not be liable for a stabbing by a co-defendant if use of a knife was entirely outside his contemplation.

### In Brief

**S**URGING consumer confidence in British beef has put sales back to pre-BSE levels for the first time since autumn 1995.

**B**ARONESS Thatcher plans to establish a £1.9 million professorship of economic enterprise at Cambridge university.

**M**ICHAEL STONE has been charged with robbery and burglary after being questioned by police in connection with the murders of Lin and Megan Russell. Police say the charges are not linked with the murders.

**M**INISTERS disregarded the latest threat to the millennium celebrations after Greenpeace activists warned that the planned £750,000 PVC dome in Greenwich, south London will be poisonous and that protesters may disrupt its construction.

**S**IR JAMES Goldsmith has died in Spain at the age of 61. The Referendum Movement he founded will be led by Lord McAlpine, former Conservative party treasurer and deputy chairman.

**A**UDREY JONES, aged 75, died and 12 were injured when a hot air balloon exploded after hitting power lines near the Humber Bridge.

**P**UBLISHING millionaire Paul Hamlyn is to donate about £17 million towards an ambitious project to cover London's South Bank Centre with an enormous glass canopy designed by Richard Rogers.

**T**HE SCOTTISH Roman Catholic Church's anti-abortion scheme, which offers money to those who decide to keep their babies, has helped its first mother, a 15-year-old girl.

**S**PEED cameras have led to a 70 per cent reduction in fatal accidents in a west London trial, prompting calls for extra cash to increase their use.

**T**HE London Borough of Hackney has been ordered to make a record payout of £172,000 to David Chan, a Chinese-origin valuer who was medically retired after being bullied and humiliated by managers because "his face did not fit".

**T**RANSSEXUALS have won a landmark ruling giving them protection against discrimination for the first time under English law. The Employment Appeal Tribunal accepted that they should be protected by the Sex Discrimination Act.

**T**HE WELSH Office plans to scrap nine out of 45 quangos as part of its aim to popularise devolution, and to demonstrate the proposed Welsh Assembly is not just a talking shop.

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# How the peace door opened in Ulster

Mary Holland  
and Patrick Wintour

THE LETTERS two inches high on the front page of the Belfast News summed up the public mood: "Another Chance". This second chance did not arrive by luck but by a mixture of clear strategic thinking and risk taking in Downing Street and Dublin.

The unequivocal restoration of the IRA ceasefire is what Tony Blair and Mo Mowlam, the Northern Ireland Secretary, have been working towards since their election on May 1 — even if the timing of the announcement caught the British government unawares. "There were rumours for a couple of days, but there have been so many that you start to give up listening to them," one minister said.

Even so, the mood at Chequers and the Northern Ireland Office was not one of jubilation but steady determination to take events by the day.

The trail leading to the restoration of the ceasefire started properly on May 10 when Mr Blair flew to Belfast for his first big speech since becoming prime minister, symbolically putting Ireland at the top of his agenda. He said he was willing to authorise a limited number of meetings between his officials and Sinn Féin to explore the terms of a ceasefire and possible terms for Sinn Féin's entry into talks. But he also laid bare his uncertainties about Sinn Féin's motives. Was the IRA's first ceasefire "a tactic in an otherwise unbroken armed conflict, or was it a search for a new way forward?" he asked aloud.

He also set out his determination that the settlement train was leav-

ing, with or without Sinn Féin. It was up to them to decide whether they wanted to climb aboard.

Two meetings between Sinn Féin and government officials were then held, the first on May 21, the second a week later. A crucial aide memoir of these May meetings was sent to Sinn Féin on June 13, summarising the concessions Labour was prepared to make. First, the Government specified that Ms Mowlam would decide with the security forces if Sinn Féin could be allowed into talks after six weeks of a ceasefire. John Major had refused to specify such a timeframe. Second, the talks process itself would be time-limited, ending in May next year. Mr Major had again refused to set a timeframe. Proposals on when the IRA and other paramilitary organisations might be required to hand over weapons were left unclear, save to say an independent body would be established and decommissioning would occur in parallel with talks.

Yet three days after the dispatch of these generous proposals, the IRA killed two policemen in Lurgan in an unprovoked attack on June 16. Mr Blair felt personally betrayed, as well as revolted by the killings themselves.

But despite the murders, it has emerged that Gerry Adams, the Sinn Féin president, sent a largely positive response four days after Lurgan, on June 20, in reply to the aide memoir of June 13.

On June 24 the British and Irish governments published their long-awaited joint paper on decommissioning which in essence promised that decommissioning would occur in parallel with the substantive talks on the future of Northern Ireland.

The Ulster Unionist response was ambiguous. David Trimble was suspicious that the Anglo-Irish formula left open the possibility that Sinn Féin would not need to hand over weapons until the end of the talks, and maybe not even then.

The next day, Mr Blair nevertheless went to the Commons to outline his decommissioning proposals and tell Sinn Féin again that the peace train would leave without them. It was a critical moment. Mr Blair could have washed his hands of the IRA, in the light of the Lurgan murders, but instead he spelt out the plans on decommissioning, the timetable of mid-September by which substantive talks must start, and his belief Sinn Féin could yet join them.

Following his statement, public attention turned to the growing threat of the marching season, and in particular the severe civil unrest at Drumcree looming over the weekend of July 5-6.

Yet privately the omens were better. On the Wednesday before Drumcree, Martin McGuinness, the Sinn Féin MP, privately wrote to the Northern Ireland Office seeking further clarifications about the decommissioning proposals, by now seen as the final stumbling block to an IRA ceasefire.

On July 8, as nationalist rioting over the Protestant march through Drumcree subsided, the Northern Ireland Office replied to Mr McGuinness. The reply reiterated Mr Blair's Commons statement that political talks would start on September 15 at the same time as the sub-committee on decommissioning weapons met. Sinn Féin was also told the only grounds for its expulsion from the



talks would be non-adherence to the Mitchell principles of non-violence. Finally, the paper promised further confidence-building measures, including a review of IRA prisoners.

News of these exchanges was not intended to leak, but Ms Mowlam felt forced to publish them last week once they started to emerge. At one point it looked as if she would be forced to make a Commons statement to explain why such contacts had been continuing, even though she had promised no further clarifications with Sinn Féin were occurring. She was instead saved by the decision of the IRA to announce the restoration of the ceasefire.

It may have been bumpy, but the hard fact is that it has taken two general elections and changes of government in London and Dublin to provide the leadership that brought this new ceasefire into being. The offer from the IRA, to which Mr Blair has responded with courage and determination, was on

the table last October when Mr Hume delivered it to Mr Major. At that time the republican demands were that the decommissioning should not be an absolute precondition for the negotiations, that there should be "confidence-building" measures, such as an amnesty of prisoners.

Mr Blair's aides for their part have been there three months to his and Ms Mowlam's success. He insisted on plain language, saying the same thing in public and in private correspondence. He helped break the IRA in the United States by the killing of the two RUCs in Lurgan. Third, he has set large Commons majorities for the peace in a way that Mr Major, so dependent on the Ulsterists for support, felt unable to.

Even now, Mr Blair will not let Ulster's quarrelsome politicians agree on new statements themselves by next week. "The two governments will not pursue a rapid progress to overall agreed settlement," he said to both Unionists and nationalists. "If the inter-party talks in London and Dublin will not reach a settlement to a referendum, both parts of Ireland, cutting ground from under the current

Mr Blair has to persuade Trimble not to walk out over decommissioning. There are already pledges already made by Ian Paisley and Bob McEneaney MP for Down that they will not talk to Sinn Féin. Trust, like peace itself, will take long time to build. The cease-

just the beginning. — The Observer

Adams's ascendancy, page 11

## Carpetbaggers stampede building societies

Richard Miles and Lisa Selig

BRITISH building societies are being stampeded by carpetbaggers as savers try to cash in on the prospect of further status for a stock market listing. Windfalls for members have so far totalled £35 billion.

With pressure mounting on the biggest mutual, Nationwide, to convert, MPs from all parties were preparing to call on the Government to act to support societies and warn of dire consequences if they were allowed to disappear.

Societies attracted a record £1.88 billion in savings in June, more than twice the £878 million deposited in May and the highest sum for a decade, according to figures published last week by the Building Societies Association.

The BSA described the influx as a "feeding frenzy" whipped up by speculative reports that the remaining societies were about to convert. The scale of last month's investments is all the more remarkable because two of the biggest players, the Halifax and the Alliance &

Leicester, had left the sector to become high-street banks, while the Woolwich floated this month. Northern Rock will join them in October.

June's influx was also spurred on by higher interest rates following a quarter-point rise in base rates at the beginning of the month, the second increase since the general election. For years, savers have had to endure rates of 2 or 3 per cent.

MPs say consumer choice and diversity in the high street will disappear if the building societies are allowed to disappear. Andrew Love, Labour MP for Edmonton and leader of the all-party building societies group, said it was unacceptable that societies' branches were being besieged by people opening accounts in the hope of a bonanza payout.

Nationwide, which has been stalked by carpetbaggers for two months, closed its doors in June to new savings business in an attempt to fend off the speculators looking for windfall payments of up to £1,000. Its fate is likely to be decided at its annual meeting in London this week, when five

carpetbaggers, led by freelance banker Michael Hardern, will seek election to its board on a platform of forcing the society to convert. More than one million votes have been cast already.

Brian Davis, Nationwide chief executive, said the response, at three times last year's vote, had been phenomenal. "The Nationwide is run by our members and so we are very pleased by the number of votes we have received as it means the members are getting involved with the issue. However, they need to remember that our competitive pricing position would disappear if we were to convert," he said.

Tipped next for conversion is Birmingham Midshires, which said that all options were open. "Our view is 'never say never', but we are not up for sale and the board has taken no decision on a change in corporate form," it said. Midshires has raised opening balances several times to deter carpetbaggers and has expelled Mr Hardern from its membership.

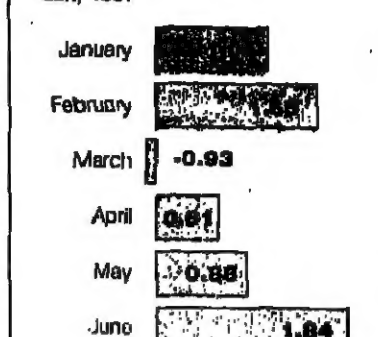
Building societies such as the Nationwide and Birmingham Midshires have sought to show the

value of mutuality — ownership for and by members — by offering consistently better interest rates on mortgages and savings accounts. A £50,000 interest-only mortgage from the Nationwide costs £13 a month less than a loan from the new banks.

But the prospect of large windfalls has prompted many investors to put pressure on mutuals to convert.

### Windfall fever

Building society deposits  
£bn, 1997



Source: Building Societies Association

### In Brief

**STOCK** markets roared to record highs in Britain and the United States. Analysts said shares had been boosted by May's weaker-than-expected earnings figures. The number of people out of work in Britain fell sharply to a seven-year low.

**BOEING'S** profits fell 15 per cent in the second quarter, the last before its planned merger with McDonnell Douglas, which is the source of a major trade row across the Atlantic. Washington Post, page 14

**BRITISH** Chancellor Gordon Brown received a pat on the head from the International Monetary Fund. It said that the new Labour government had made "an excellent start" in promoting stable, long-term growth.

**BRITISH** Telecom came under strong pressure to abandon or renegotiate its proposed \$20 billion merger with US telecommunications firm MCI, following a warning from the US firm that it may face a big drop in profits. Meanwhile, BT won complete independence after the UK government gave up its protective golden share.

**WOLWORTH** is closing its "five-and-dime" stores across the United States, ending a century-old business. Four hundred discount stores will close and 9,200 jobs will be lost. Last year, F.W. Woolworth stores in the US reported an operating loss of \$37 million.

**MARKS & Spencer** has splashed out \$321 million in Britain to buy 19 of Littlewoods' largest stores.

**TRAIDCRAFT**, the Christian company which promotes fair trade with the Third World, reported a 6.5 per cent rise in sales of its products.

**THE** City of York re-entered the railway age when the Chicago-based Thrall Europa announced it is to produce 2,500 freight wagons over the next five years in the city.

### FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Starting rates July 23	Starting rates July 24
Austria	13.76-13.84	13.76-13.84
Belgium	21.19-21.21	21.19-21.21
Canada	52.18-52.22	52.18-52.22
Denmark	2.1054-2.1073	2.1054-2.1073
France	16.17-16.17	16.17-16.17
Germany	3.6130-3.6154	3.6130-3.6154
Hong Kong	12.48-12.48	12.48-12.48
Italy	1.1221-1.1241	1.1221-1.1241
Japan	2.0100-2.0124	2.0100-2.0124
Netherlands	1.0428-1.0448	1.0428-1.0448
New Zealand	3.2116-3.2147	3.2116-3.2147
Norway	12.44-12.48	12.44-12.48
Portugal	304.46-304.74	304.46-304.74
Spain	223.84-224.01	223.84-224.01
Sweden	13.04-13.06	13.04-13.06
Switzerland	2.4761-2.4782	2.4761-2.4782
USA	1.6776-1.6793	1.6776-1.6793
ECU	1.5262-1.5288	1.5262-1.5288

FTSE 100 share index drops 51.7 at 4026.7, FTSE 250 index up 40.2 at 4464.1. Gold up 55.40 at \$328.25.

## Fatal love in a land torn apart by hatred

David Sharrock on  
the latest sectarian killing  
in Northern Ireland

THIS is a Northern Irish love story, of the type known here as "love across the barricades". It begins at the end, with the burial of Bernadette Martin in Craigavon last week, among flowers and tears and the usual pleas for tolerance.

Eighteen-year-old Bernadette loved 19-year-old Gordon Greene. The two were inseparable and it made their families happy to see such a thing in their country, where hatred, fear and ignorance so often separate Catholic neighbour from Protestant friend.

Bernadette met Gordon last year at work at Avondale Foods, a food-processing factory in Lurgan, which makes sandwiches for Marks & Spencer. They might have married, settled to raise children, and lived their lives in unremarkable peace.

But that option was not open to them, because Bernadette and Gordon had broken the most important taboo of Ulster's two tribes: to love one another in spite of different religious allegiances.

About 9 per cent of people in Northern Ireland marry across the divide. Many never look back, even though they may be forced to live apart from the communities in

which they were raised. There is a hidden map of Northern Ireland upon which every last field, ditch and house is accounted for in sectarian terms. It is buried in people's minds, and where Bernadette and Gordon grew up, on the lush farmland around Lough Neagh, its hold is strong.

Gordon lives in Aghalee, a pretty village decked out at this time of year in red, white and blue bunting, declaring itself British. Earlier this month, it hosted the Co Antrim Orange Order's Twelfth of July demonstration. Most homes fly a Union flag, but not Gordon Greene's.

It is rumoured that the village has proved to be fertile recruiting ground for the Loyalist Volunteer Force, Northern Ireland's fastest growing paramilitary force, although the area's Ulster Unionist MP, Jeffrey Donaldson, attacks the media for slurring the reputation of the majority of decent people who live there.

Bernadette lived in Pinebank, one of the few mixed housing estates in the sprawling "new town" of Craigavon, a mile from Lurgan.

There is a statue of the Virgin Mary in the window of Bernadette's house, and neighbours described the family as "good, decent people".

Given their different backgrounds, Bernadette and Gordon must sometimes have thought of the dangers their relationship put



Gordon Greene carrying his girlfriend Bernadette's coffin last week. They had shared a love 'across the barricades' PHOTOGRAPH BY ALAN LEWIS

them in from the section of Northern Ireland's population that is neither good nor decent.

"They were just so into each other, they were mad about each other," said a friend of Bernadette. "They were great together. She was beautiful and could have had her pick of men, but it was Gordon she loved. He loved her back; treated her like gold."

There are few places for Catholics and Protestants to mix socially. One is the Celler, a bar in Lurgan near where two policemen were murdered last month. The young

couple, who regularly stayed at each other's houses, would go there, and Gordon was readily welcomed into her mainly Catholic circle of friends.

The two lovers ignored pleas for caution from friends who warned Bernadette about going to Aghalee during the tense weeks surrounding July 12. "She had been getting a lot of verbal sectarian abuse in Aghalee," said one friend. "They were calling her Fenian bitch and things like that, but she didn't seem to care. She was in love."

Gordon's father, John, said that on the evening of July 14 his wife

drove into Lurgan to pick up youngsters up from Bernadette's house. She was going to stop that night because they were going to a country pub and then go to work together the next morning. "God, if we hadn't gone, collect her, she might be alive."

Gordon and Bernadette left the pub at 11pm and returned to Gordon's home. They were carrying an upstairs bedroom when Bernadette arrived home. She went to the toilet and then to the kitchen, talking and joking with her father, who was one of the few hours when, one by one, the fell asleep fully clothed on the bed.

All the lights were off. A gunman entered the house, went to the stairs, entered the room where the teenagers were sleeping, and shot Bernadette four times in the head. "They must have been in bed," said John Greene. "It was out of pure hatred. I have no doubt that it was sectarian. We never get over it. My children don't go up the stairs. My son will stay at home. He is in pieces."

"We stayed with Bernadette's father, Laurence Martin. I can forgive them, but I might never forgive them. I do not want any reparation, and people claiming reparation and death means it is the last day of the country then maybe it is worth a thing and we can live in peace. She was special. She was a girl. Police have charged a boy with murder."

Lisa Buckingham and  
Julia Finch on bad old  
boardroom habits that  
Labour must root out

I WAS pure eighties, Peter Middleton — the former head of the Lloyd's of London insurance market and now European chief of US bank Salomon's — told the City's bright young Turks they were worth every penny they could squeeze.

At the Lord Mayor's dinner for Young City Professionals the twice-married former monk said it was "inimical and unjust" to deny people the fruits of their labour.

He should know. He earns at least £1 million a year, but that is dwarfed by some of his colleagues at Salomon's who command up to £20 million.

But his public statement was surprising, given the recently stated concerns of the Bank of England that huge bonuses now doing the rounds of the Square Mile may create a moral hazard, particularly for younger dealers.

Fine words from the grandees of British boardrooms are echoed by regulators who call for responsible leadership and moderation. But at the same time — and only a fraction less publicly — the production line of riches for the chosen few gathers pace.

Last week a small band of shareholders attempted to call the board of British Telecom to account because three generous incentive schemes are being put into place for directors.

Experts calculate that Sir Peter Bouffield, the chief executive and architect of the MCI fiasco, could be in line for £5 million even if British Telecom's performance makes almost no progress. That is in addition to his annual salary of £500,000, plus a bonus. Last year's totalled £225,000.

Yet Sir Peter's chairman is Sir Iain Vallance, one of the leading lights on the Greenbury Committee whose 1995 report into executive



Middleton: 'Immoral' to deny people the fruits of their labour

pay was supposed to extinguish boardroom excess. Sir Iain refuses to participate in the new schemes, but has obviously failed to dissuade his colleagues.

Sir Colin Marshall, the chairman of BT's remuneration committee, claims that the potentially huge rewards are needed to retain the US executives of MCI — even though MCI has never had any similar performance bonuses and its executives look anything but world-class.

Only two days later, Sir Richard Greenbury, the chairman of Marks & Spencer and author of the Greenbury report, was also attracting the attention of eagle-eyed shareholders.

Sir Richard's pay rose, by more than £100,000 to £924,000 and remuneration for the total board rose more than £1 million — or 20 per cent — after outside consultants concluded they were underpaid.

However, it was not the pay packets which angered investors, but the installation of a new share scheme which they believe does not stretch the boardroom talents of M&S.

Even the highly regarded former BP boss, Lord Simon of Highbury, who has now been appointed a government minister, has "hesitated about forgoing control of £2 million of BP share options."

Such instances undermine the claim that British business is no longer behaving badly. Bosses have always argued that they need cash incentives to work at their peak, but rarely accept that the same principle should apply throughout the company.

This has been contested by the trade unions, but their case has been given extra impetus with recent research from the United States, which suggests that shareholders should look long and hard at chief executive pay as a potential performance indicator.

One recent US report showed that companies where the chief executive's salary was felt to be unfairly high suffer well above average staff turnover — which indicates low morale and is costly to all businesses.

A second piece of research from the Wharton Business School shows that companies that pay their chief executives too much more often perform badly in terms of profits and share price.

This point is recognised by few employers. One notable exception is John Lewis, the partnership retailer. Recently chairman Stuart Hampson pointed out that it is in a company's interests to invent a lucrative incentive scheme to make the boss feel motivated, it has to be worthwhile to do the same for all employees. John Lewis has just shelved out bonuses of 20 per cent a head from the boardroom down to the shop floor.

Several recent remuneration agreements show what many had feared following publication of the Greenbury report — that share option schemes would be replaced by potentially more generous long-term incentive programmes, many of which have turned out to be disappointingly underwhelming of the boardroom.

Even where shareholders have sanctioned what looked like reasonable schemes, it is not unknown — for example at Laura Ashley — for directors to change the rules halfway through the year when it appears

they will not reach the targets set.

All this has been going on as the ethical climate of Britain has shifted with the arrival of a new Labour government — one of whose first tasks was to send a message to industry that the "short-termism" culture would no longer be tolerated. The directors of lottery operator Camelot were singled out as examples even though their remuneration was comparatively modest and they had met tough performance requirements.

This signal does not appear to have filtered into other boardrooms, where it is argued that more is needed for motivation and to keep up with counterparts abroad.

The argument for international parity is most often used in relation to City jobs and bonuses, as bankers and traders have a large degree of mobility and the huge US banks have set the recruitment pace. But research by the financial recruitment group, Robert Walters Associates, disputes that. It showed that the recent City bonuses were a record and points out that "the UK pays considerably more than other countries; the same job in the US pays up to 25 per cent more in the UK".

Even part-time directors — the non-executives who are supposed to represent shareholders' interests and monitor boardroom behaviour — have joined the bonanza. Douglas Hurd, the former foreign secretary, is earning £250,000 a year for a few days a week at NatWest Markets, the troubled investment banking subsidiary of the NatWest Bank. His former cabinet colleague, Norman Lamont, is understood to take in about £200,000 for a two-day week at Rothschild.

If the Government can act quickly and decisively over pay at Camelot, possibly it should now examine the continuing excess in other British boardrooms.

Unemployment is falling and wage negotiations have never been slow to link their pay claims to rises at the top — with potentially hugely inflationary consequences.



## Europe sets new horizons

THE European Union enlargement show is finally on the road with a cast of hopefuls and a timetable of sorts. It is welcomed by those who are now eligible and is no longer opposed from within. The British Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, is right to say it represents a move away from introspection even if it is not quite the new chapter in the EU which he suggests: too many pages in the previous text remain unfinished. Just why it is such a good thing is a more difficult question: the answers to it come in different and contradictory form. Is it purely an act of enlightened statesmanship? Sir Leon Brittan depicted it as such. Enlargement would be to Europe's benefit because it would bring stability in a part of the world that started two world wars. It also was a form of moral recompense to those former communist countries for whom we had "shed tears for 40 years". At last we could do something to help.

Yet enlargement is not perhaps such an unequivocal act of charity. True, it is likely to involve a dilution of the EU's collective wealth, expanding the Common Market's population from 370 million to nearly 500 million, while increasing total GDP by only 5 per cent. But the impulse might be less generous if existing members did not regard eastern Europe as a potentially lucrative market. The candidate members will have to face tough entry requirements, freeing their economies in ways that could leave them vulnerable.

The benevolence of the EU, like that of the World Trade Organisation, operates strictly on its own terms. As a Polish minister responsible for EU membership commented: "We feel like an enterprise that has received the approval of its auditors." The EU's judgmental approach is painfully clear in the dossier released by the Commission on those countries which have failed to make the grade even as potential future members. Bulgaria is reproached for reforming its economy too slowly even though it's on the way to satisfying the EU's political criteria. Slovakia by contrast is not doing at all badly on the economic front, but is ticked off for its democratic defects. Such a condescending approach is not the best way of promoting the spirit of pan-European equality.

In Britain these matters are always seen more parochially. The process is being judged much more in terms of its effect upon regional grants and the Common Agricultural Policy. The argument that CAP reform is essential to release funds for poorer would-be members of the community is a worthy one. How is it then that the new proposals appear to redistribute the burden without reducing it? The uncertainty of the British National Farmers' Union is understandable. For the consumer there is an advantage in shifting from price support to direct subsidies to farmers — but only if prices actually come down.

Self-interest cannot be shrugged aside, but Britain in particular needs to enlarge the narrow spirit with which it has approached so much of the European agenda. Last week's partial commitment to adopt a proportional representation voting system for the next Euro-elections may or may not have domestic implications. But it is right anyhow because it brings Britain more in line with its EU partners. And whatever the uncertainties, the EU offers a better route for forging a new European vision than Nato.

## Cook puts down his marker

ROBIN COOK'S view of the relationship between human rights and British foreign policy was worth hearing last week. It was not quite the "vision" that it claimed to be, and its smooth presentation allowed no opportunity for direct questioning. But as several NGOs have commented, the Foreign Secretary's positive approach makes a refreshing change after years of Tory rule in which human rights groups were patronised or brushed aside. A dialogue between government, business, and NGOs is worth entering into.

The specific measures announced by Mr Cook are welcome, as far as they go. Publication of an annual report on British policy will provide a regular opportunity for appraisal. It should cast light on under-reported areas such as the UN commit-

tees. The commitment to raise the cases of prisoners of conscience in bilateral meetings with the "relevant regimes" is significant — so long as the results are logged in the annual report. Too often it has been unclear whether, or how vigorously, such representations are made: ambassadors have been known to brush aside the documentation supplied to them. A hard look at the UK Military Training Assistance Scheme is overdue. The notion that military officers from repressive regimes can be "trained" in the principles of human rights is debatable — and in some cases is laughable. To divert the money elsewhere, including finance for the media in such regimes, would provide much better value.

In broader terms, it is all very well to say that in the long term higher ethical standards are good for British business. But is anyone listening in the defence procurement industry? It is good to hear that Mr Cook's commitment on human rights is part of a government policy co-ordinated with the new Department of International Development. It would be better if the Minister of Defence had been included in the enterprise.

The strength of this new initiative will be measured by results: the review now under way of criteria for licensing weapons will be its first test, with Indonesia very high on the list. If the clues are read correctly, Mr Cook is intending to ban sales of riot control vehicles and small arms to Jakarta — but not the Hawk jets. This will be a disappointment to those who argue convincingly that the type of weapon is less important than the approval it confers on the regime concerned. There will be other tests, and perhaps other disappointments. But Mr Cook has put down a significant marker: he should not mind being held to it.

## End game for Khmer Rouge

BY ANNOUNCING that Cambodian elections will be held in May next year, Prime Minister Hun Sen hopes to head off international disapproval at the virtual coup d'état which has just been carried out. He may get away with it. This is partly because the outside world has little appetite for getting involved again in Cambodian politics. It is also because in the contest that has just been bloodily won, there seems little to choose between the two sides. The royalist FUNCINPEC party led by the — now ousted — co-prime minister Prince Ranariddh was nourished by Western support as an anti-communist rival to Hun Sen's Cambodian People's party. But FUNCINPEC is now split and Ranariddh is widely judged to have given Hun Sen the pretext he needed by flirting dangerously with the Khmer Rouge.

In moving against Ranariddh, Hun Sen claimed that he and his senior military commander were illegally importing Khmer Rouge units into Phnom Penh after they suffered a new split in their bases on the Thai border. (The fate of Pol Pot himself, reported last month to be under arrest, is still unconfirmed.) The Group of Seven's special envoy to Cambodia, Yukio Imagawa, supports the view that Ranariddh provoked the fighting by "unleashing" about 140 Khmer Rouge fighters into Phnom Penh. FUNCINPEC's negotiations with the Khmer Rouge were supposed to be secret, but the intention was clear: to establish a new coalition ahead of the elections.

Hun Sen has long since exhausted the residual credit to which he was entitled for having led the Vietnam-backed invasion that ousted the murderous Khmer Rouge 18 years ago. He insisted on a power-sharing arrangement after he was defeated in the UN-backed 1993 elections, and has since used selective terror to intimidate political opponents. One of these, former finance minister Sam Rainsy, has announced his support for Ranariddh from the safety of the Thai border. Last year Hun Sen took the credit for a previous surrender of Khmer Rouge forces from which FUNCINPEC had hoped to benefit. His self-aggrandising and threatening style is a further misfortune for Cambodians, who have suffered so much already from autocratic leadership — whether it be displayed by princes or political commissars.

Outside pressure on Hun Sen is needed now to seek to ensure that the elections do take place and are fair. But the UN and Cambodia's neighbours in Asean should join in insisting that the Khmer Rouge has no part in such arrangements, whoever invites them in. Their leaders belong in a war crimes court — and that is where Hun Sen, or FUNCINPEC, should deliver them.

## Adams gets to talking with guns behind him

John Ware

GERRY ADAMS'S announcement last week that he would only approach the IRA for a second ceasefire if he was confident of a positive response must have brought a wry smile to faces in the Royal Ulster Constabulary and Northern Ireland Office, whose joke is that the Sinn Féin president has only to look in the mirror to find out what the IRA is thinking.

Despite Adams's unequivocal denials, senior RUC and government sources say they are "100 per cent certain" that he retains one of the seven seats on the Provisional IRA's ruling Army Council which decided to restore the 1994 ceasefire. If that is so, while Adams has spoken in public of going the extra mile for peace, he must also have been party, however reluctantly, to conducting war in secret since the IRA ended its ceasefire 18 months ago.

His refusal to condemn IRA bombings and shootings reached its nadir in May when he said the brutal killings of two community policemen in Lurgan "diminishes us all". Where once he was feted at book-signing sessions in London and banquets in Washington, his stock sank.

But to Sinn Féin and the IRA, Adams grew hugely in stature after they went back to war. Not only did he increase Sinn Féin's vote to a record 16 per cent, making it the third largest political party in Northern Ireland, he has also delivered all the IRA's conditions for a new ceasefire.

A major cause of Sinn Féin's recent increase in popularity was the violence at Drumcree in 1996, when the RUC forced an Orange march down the Garvaghy Road by firing plastic bullets at local nationalists. There is persuasive evidence that Adams himself had helped inspire that confrontation, which confirmed his long-held claim that Northern Ireland is an unworkable Orange state where the rule of law operates on the principle that might is right.

Six months after the first ceasefire, Adams urged Republican activists to direct their energies to a new front: the "sound of angry voices and marching feet". In response, residents' coalitions were established in nationalist areas through which Orangemen marches were tolerated by a peaceful but resentful Catholic population. But portraying nationalists as victims of British-backed loyalist supremacy is essential to keep the Sinn Féin bandwagon rolling.

This year, residents' coalitions everywhere apart from Drumcree faced down Orangemen, forcing them to cancel or re-route marches. By avoiding confrontation, Unionism then occupied the high ground. Adams wrested it back by announcing another IRA ceasefire was imminent. British officials have long respected Adams for his tactical brilliance.

The Ulster Unionist party leader David Trimble threatened to pull out of inter-party peace talks, claiming the Government had shifted its ground on de-commissioning. Trimble wanted guns handed over before and during substantive peace talks. The Government required the IRA only to consider handing them over

during talks. If Trimble was against the de-commissioning proposals, he, not Adams, will be called the saboteur of peace.

Adams's hardline stand on de-commissioning was the last of four conditions for a new ceasefire to be agreed by the Government. Sinn Féin also demanded advances to peace talks afterwards, a ceasefire for talks, and confidence-building measures. Tony Blair agreed Sinn Féin's entry to talks only six weeks after a ceasefire, set a deadline of next May for talks to be completed, and promised to repatriate 10 IRA prisoners to the Irish Republic.

Adams had faced down John Major. After the ceasefire, the Government said Sinn Féin would be admitted to talks until the RUC changed its pledge of a ceasefire, violence to "permanent". Three months later, Major had made it working assumption that the ceasefire was permanent.

Getting to the peace conference on the IRA's terms has been one of Adams's goals since he devised the Long War strategy in the 1970s. By prolonging the IRA's peal into politics with the Armistice and the ballot box, Sinn Féin became so popular it threatened the Democratic Labour Party.

This led to the 1985 Anglo-Irish agreement, which ensured a consultative role for Dublin in the running of Northern Ireland, and guaranteed Unionists that it would remain part of the UK. He also attacked the treaty as a sell-out. Privately he hailed it as the most important development since partition in 1921.

ADAMS persuaded the IRA that the struggle needed to be broadened further with a 1994 ceasefire backed by a nationalist alliance of the SDLP, DUP and Sinn Féin. When the IRA laid down its arms so far short of the goal of a united Ireland, ex-British Army general Sir John de Silva, who led the IRA's first ceasefire, suggested the IRA's first ceasefire was merely a tactic to get to the ceasefire table, and that the IRA would retain the option of a return to violence in the event of major blocks to the peace talks; presumably what has deliberately not preceded by new ceasefire announcement was the word "permanent".

Having got the IRA to the negotiating table with its armory intact, Adams's position as overall leader of the Republican movement seems unassailable. There, with no split as long as he leads it, the IRA must be confident that its supreme commander will continue to advance steadily on all fronts however long it takes.

John Ware is a reporter with BBC Panorama programme

# The Washington Post

## Congress Rounds on Annan's Reforms

John M. Goshko  
at the United Nations

THE Secretary General Kofi Annan proposed last week what he called "the most extensive and far-reaching reforms" in the 52-year history of the United Nations. But the long-awaited proposals included neither staff nor budget cuts, and Republican critics immediately said they fell far short of what Congress expects if it is to pay the \$1 billion U.S. debt threatening the world body with financial collapse.

"It's frankly very underwhelming. If this is the whole blueprint, it's going to be very hard for Congress to accept as a viable reform and a basis for paying the U.S. arrears," said Sen. Rod Grams, R-Minnesota, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee that oversees U.S. participation in the United Nations.

The "quiet revolution," as Annan dubbed his plan, relies primarily on merging U.N. departments and other seemingly unremarkable steps. Annan said the package should be judged on its totality rather than individual parts, and he insisted it would lead to greater efficiency, reduced costs and fundamental changes in the way the United Nations does business.

But the consolidations are to be accomplished without cutting personnel from the 9,000-member secretariat, beyond 1,000 vacant

positions that Annan earlier had promised to wipe from the books. The plan fails to eliminate any existing U.N. programs and proposes adding new ones. And, rhetorically at least, it tilts heavily toward the idea of an activist U.N. economic development role, which is supported strongly by Third World countries but opposed by American conservatives as a wasteful drain on the organization's resources.

These facts pose potentially serious problems for the Clinton administration, which engineered Annan's election to the secretary general's post and hopes Congress will forestall eroding U.S. influence in the world body by paying \$819 million of the U.N. arrears. But Congress has conditioned the payment on a presidential certification that the United Nations has met specific conditions Congress has set.

In defending his proposals last week, Annan objected to efforts to "keep pulling me back to Congress and Washington." He insisted his reform plan was a report to all 185 member states and not one country, no matter how much the organization depends on that country's financial and political support. Using a phrase that has gained currency here in recent days, Annan's chief aides have said the aim was not to engage in a "sustained-burn exercise," but to find ways in which he believes the United Nations can be more effective for all its members.

A cautious endorsement of

Annan's plan came from Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, who said she needed more time to review. But, she added, the administration "heartily endorses [Annan's] focus on improving management and efficiencies, cutting costs and emphasizing the U.N.'s core mission."

That view was not shared by Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms, R-North Carolina, principal architect of the benchmarks. Marc Thiessen, Helms's spokesman, said "the disappointing nature of the reform plan shows that the forces of entrenched U.N. bureaucracy and pressure from Third World members are stronger than the secretary general."

The cooperation of the Third World countries, who form a majority of the 185 U.N. members, along with that of the roughly 53,000 international civil servants who work for the various U.N. agencies around the world, is vital to U.N. reform.

Simultaneous with the announcement of Annan's proposals, the Group of 77, the principal umbrella organization of developing states, released a statement of principles saying that development "must be restored to the top of the United Nations agenda," and warning, "The reform process... should not be motivated by the aim of downsizing the United Nations and achieving savings."

Also wary of the reform process

are U.N. employees, whose morale has been eroded by an unceasing barrage of congressional and media criticism about alleged waste and inefficiency.

Most important, U.N. officials say, the bureaucracy has been made a scapegoat for recent U.N. failures in Somalia, Bosnia, Congo and Cambodia that were the fault not of U.N. workers but of the unwillingness of the international community to confront the problems head-on.

The principal reforms proposed by Annan include:

- Creation of a deputy undersecretary post, preferably to be filled by a woman.
- Merging 12 departments into five and establishing a cabinet-style system centered on five principal areas: peace and security, development, economic and social issues, humanitarian affairs, and human rights.
- Coordinating six agencies dealing with development issues into two groups, one dealing with development, one with humanitarian aid.
- Using any savings generated by staff cuts to create an economic development fund.
- Consolidating human rights activities under the high commissioner for human rights in Geneva and drug trafficking and terrorism programs under a single administration in Vienna.
- Creating a department to deal with disarmament and weapons proliferation.

## Disrespect Shown to World Body

EDITORIAL

IF THE purpose of reform at the United Nations were merely to make the world body a more efficient conveyor of the diplomatic, peacekeeping, developmental and other services it provides its 185 members, then the argument would have been wrapped up years ago. In budget and management, the United Nations has been worked over before, and the changes now recommended by the secretary general, Kofi Annan, take the organization further along, though they do not meet all the "benchmarks" set unilaterally by the U.S. Congress.

But of course efficiency is not what the argument has been all about. The real issue goes to the symbolic role that the United States plays in the world. The United States is the single superpower, the most powerful country, the one more than any other with deep interests in what goes on practically everywhere in the world.

Should it therefore dictate to other members, define their common agenda, insist on prevailing? Or should it use the United Nations as a forum in which to cooperate as much as possible on shared interests, in which case a more conciliatory mode of engagement is required?

To put a point on it, is the United Nations to reflect the world view of Sen. Jesse Helms, who has said he believes the organization represents a conspiracy to diminish American sovereignty? Or is it to represent the mainstream view of the organization as a place where important American interests, though scarcely all of them, can be usefully defended and advanced by working with the other members?

No doubt the table of organization proposed by Annan could be further revised. No doubt some additional jobs could be closed down without serious harm to the organization. It is fair to put the United Nations' internal procedures to additional tests, even painful ones. But it is not fair — it is disrespectful — for the U.S. Congress simply to demand that the U.N. secretary general impose changes, such as reducing the American share of the budget or crediting the United States for money it has spent on its own to support peacekeeping. These changes require the formal amendment of separate treaties.

This whole business of U.N. reform has gone on for a very long time and with a heavy impact on the organization's functioning. Annan's proposals may not be the last word, but they provide a reasonable basis for early American resumption of a full role in serving its interests and accepting its obligations at the United Nations.

## War Crimes Prosecutors 'Lack Funds'

Charles Trueheart  
at The Hague

WAR CRIMES prosecutors reaping new international support after the recent arrests of two suspects in the former Yugoslavia say their work is being threatened at a critical stage by shortages of staff and funds from the United Nations.

The four-year-old International Criminal Tribunal, which is investigating atrocities in the recent wars in Bosnia and Croatia and trying those indicted for war crimes, has been operating for months without 120 additional staff positions it says it needs to keep up with the quickening flow of captured suspects.

"That's regarded by the secretary [the office of U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan] as a huge increase," said Graham Blewitt, the deputy war crimes prosecutor here. "But this is a brand new organization that is just beginning its work."

He said the United Nations, which created, oversees and funds the tribunal, may allot the tribunal only eight new employees.

Blewitt and other court officials also complain that they have been denied the use of skilled personnel whose services a few supportive countries wish to donate at no cost to the United Nations.

In the first phase of the tribunal's mission, the bulk of the work was investigatory. But the first indictments are coming to trial, and new ones



War criminal... Dusan Tadic sentenced to 20 years' jail last week for atrocities in former Yugoslavia

are being arrested. To conduct trials and prepare for new ones not publicly anticipated until a few weeks ago, the tribunal's staff has had to give short shrift to current investigations.

There are 77 public indictments outstanding, and an undisclosed number of additional sealed indictments. Only 10 wanted men are in custody in The Hague, but the tribunal's pace already is threatening to overwhelm its resources — a 1997 budget just under \$50 million — and staff of 356.

Recent weeks have given the tribunal a new lease on life, notably this month's dramatic arrest of Milan Kovacic, a hospital director in Prijedor, Bosnia. A synchronized

attempt to arrest the former Prijedor police chief, Simo Drljaca, ended in the suspect's death after he reportedly opened fire on his British captors.

That operation stiffened the impression of resolve established a few days earlier with the surprise arrest in Croatia of another suspected war criminal, former Vukovar mayor Slavko Dokmanovic.

The tribunal's problems, which include a lack of courtroom space that forces simultaneous trials to alternate their sessions, have been exacerbated by a political conflict over the use of contributed personnel. These lawyers, investigators and others are dispatched to The Hague from countries whose gov-

ernments pay their salaries. But now, even with the United Nations hard up for funds, they are being turned away.

The United States, the main contributor of "gratis" employees here, is locked in a dispute with the United Nations over their use. U.N. rules require that providers of gratis employees pay a 13 percent overhead charge to the United Nations to cover institutional expenses involved in putting their people on the payroll.

The United States refuses; several other countries with people seconded to the tribunal have paid the U.N. surcharge, in some cases under protest. The tribunal staff is now limited to 22 gratis employees.

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## Bickering Republicans Blame Gingrich

Dan Balz and Geol Connolly  
in Cleveland

**T**HE INFIGHTING over the leadership of House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Georgia, that rocked House Republicans last week reflects far deeper problems than a debate over who will lead the House.

Republican activists and key strategists interviewed over the past week say the absence of leadership nationally and lack of consensus on a new party agenda invite intensified intraparty conflict that will leave Republicans weakened in upcoming battles with President Clinton and the Democrats.

"We don't have unifying themes and we don't have unifying leadership," said Steve Merksamer, who was chief of staff to former California governor George Deukmejian. "We have control of both houses [of Congress] and the country sympathetic to our agenda . . . and what are we doing with it? We're squandering it."

The uproar over Gingrich's weakened leadership, which led to the hasty resignation of Rep. Bill Paxton, R-New York, as a key member of the speaker's team in the House, helped crystallize a growing sense of frustration within the party. As one top party strategist put it last week, "The tragedy is that we're on the verge of passing a balanced budget and cutting taxes and we're in a circle shooting each other."

In one sense, the frustration grows out of the party's collective failure to compete against a popular president who they believe has stolen their best issues and thrown them back in their faces.

The party's problems also reflect a loss of confidence in their own agenda. Support for the potency of supply-side economics has frayed in the face of the strong economy, and with Clinton and the Republicans nearing agreement on a balanced budget with tax cuts, there is no consensus about how to shape a new agenda.



**WANTED**  
Noted Con Man & Republican Thug  
'Nasty Newt' Gingrich

for acts of thuggery, muggery, dis-  
ruption & senseless mayhem. Passes  
himself off as devout supporter of law  
and order, but carries assault weapon.  
Long past the Three Strikes, You're Out  
limit, faces max. sentence when caught.

These problems are responsible not only for the complaints about Gingrich's leadership that brought about the abortive coup attempt but also for an escalation in long-standing tensions between economic and social conservatives and northern and southern Republicans.

Many conservatives complain that the party is losing its identity as a result of Clinton's shift to the center and what they say is their leadership's collective lack of courage in developing a clear conservative alternative to the president's policies. Moderates complain that conservatives care more about ideological purity than governing. With no one exerting strong leadership, the fragmentation of the party has increased.

"We are like the Democrats of the '60s and '70s," said one midwestern Republican. "Remember when Republicans used to laugh at Democrats beating themselves up? Now we're doing the same thing."

Gingrich's problems drew the headlines, but there were other signs of unrest last week. In Boston, Massachusetts Gov. William F.

Weld lashed out at Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms, R-North Carolina, accusing Helms of "ideological extortion" in holding up his proposed nomination to be Clinton's ambassador to Mexico.

Weld and Helms disagree on social issues, such as abortion and gay rights, and Helms has accused Weld of being soft on the war against drugs. Weld's attack on Helms threatens to strain relations between the party's moderate and conservative wings.

Republicans haven't fully recovered from the public relations debacle of the fight over disaster relief, in which the president vetoed a disaster aid bill and charged that the Republicans had loaded it up with extraneous issues. Eventually the Republicans caved to Clinton's pressure. Now they fear Clinton is on the brink of stealing the tax issue from them as they settle the final terms of balancing the budget.

Cutting taxes once was the Republicans' most powerful political weapon; today, by a slight margin, Americans say they trust the

Democrats over the Republicans to hold down taxes, according to a Washington Post-ABC News poll.

These frustrations prompted members of the Republican National Committee to urge RNC chairman Jim Nicholson to convene a party summit to bring the bickering to an end and produce a new agenda that the party can push once the budget and tax fights are settled. But many Republicans fear the unrest will continue well into the presidential campaign in 2000.

Party leaders and activists offered a variety of explanations for the problems, including the difficulty of trying to be a governing party from Capitol Hill.

"We are clearly suffering from the transition of having been a presidential party to one that is more diverse, with power that is more diffuse," said Tom Rahl, the national communications director from New Hampshire.

Another Republican was more blunt: "If we had a strong leader in either House to rally around, we wouldn't have this problem," he said.

Reacting in fury to moves by the Bush and Clinton administrations to support Taiwan militarily, the recent American effort to get Japan to take on more military responsibility for the region as part of the U.S.-Japan bilateral security pact has also stirred Chinese resentment and suspicion.

"Asian security should be decided by Asians," said Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Shen Guofang in April. His comment took U.S. military analysts aback and was cited last month by the Far East Economic Review as part of a developing Chinese diplomatic campaign against the U.S.-Japanese partnership in the Pacific.

China now advocates replacing bilateral security arrangements with free-floating multilateral regional organizations, much as the Soviet Union once proposed that NATO be dismantled and a Common European Home established.

These moves suggest that President Clinton will be pushed hard in the autumn summit to weaken U.S. defense commitments to Taiwan and Japan as the price for a strategic partnership with Beijing and access to the El Dorado riches that U.S. companies seek there.

Only one answer from Clinton can be acceptable in that case: No deal.

## U.S., Europe Clash over Boeing Deal

Steven Pearlstein  
and Anne Swanson

**T**HE Clinton administration is considering how to react against Europe if it makes good on its threat to try to undermine the merger of U.S. aerospace giant Boeing Co. and McDonnell Douglas Corp.

The looming trans-Atlantic dispute was the subject of a White House meeting last week attended by the secretaries of commerce, transportation, the U.S. trade representative, officials of the Pentagon and State Department, and the president's two top economic advisers.

The officials considered a number of possible actions against Europeans. These include limiting flights between the United States and France, imposing tariffs on European airplanes and filing a formal protest with the World Trade Organization.

While no decisions were made, the officials agreed to put the weight of the government behind Boeing now that it has received approval for the \$15 billion merger from the Federal Trade Commission.

Administration spokesmen Michael McCurry told reporters the White House last week that negotiations with the European Commission "are ongoing" and the president remains "hopeful" that outstanding issues can be resolved. The Europeans, however, are showing no inclination toward compromise.

In Brussels last week, anti-regulators from all 15 European Union member countries expressed opposition to the merger, arguing that it would leave Boeing with two-thirds of the global market for commercial airplanes and threaten the survival of its other rival, Airbus Industrie, a European consortium. Although the European Commission has no authority to block a combination of two U.S. firms, under European law it could impose a fine on Boeing of more than \$4 billion.

Top officials of the Justice Department and the Pentagon flew to Brussels in an attempt to allay European concerns and emphasize that the administration would not tolerate undue interference in the operations of an industry crucial to the economic and military strength of the United States.

The Europeans are also upset by the subsidies they claim Boeing and McDonnell Douglas are receiving from the Pentagon and NASA in the form of research and development contracts to develop new high-speed materials for use in aircraft. Boeing and U.S. officials argue that since the materials are not yet being used to make commercial jets, the research funding does not violate a 1992 treaty with the Europeans limiting government subsidies to aircraft makers.

"To our minds that is purely ridiculous," said Ian Massie, Airbus's financial controller. Boeing has offered to report annually to the EU on the details of its unclassified R&D contracts from the government. But the Europeans are insisting the U.S. government agree to reopen the 1992 treaty with the EU.

Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky has said she will not consider in the context of the Boeing deal.

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## Fashion Mourns a Titan's Passing

Robin Givhan on the legacy of the murdered designer Gianni Versace

**D**ESIGNER Gianni Versace is being mourned by the fashion industry as a fallen titan. Before Versace, there were no supermodels, no celebrities at shows and in advertising, no screaming fans. Fashion was not entertainment, it was merely clothes. Versace was 30 years old when he launched his signature collection in 1978. It was an almost immediate success. Over time, his work was celebrated not only in fashion annuals for its brashness, but also in museums because of the ways it reflected the culture and re-created the Old World artistry of the "pelle maitre" or seamstress of the couture.

He headed a family-run company that includes men's and women's wear, fragrances, accessories, housewares, books and a planned cosmetics line. The company had worldwide sales estimated at \$550 million for 1996.

Versace learned about the fashion business from his mother while growing up in Reggio di Calabria, in the south of Italy. She was a dressmaker and ran a boutique. His father was an appliance salesman.

In 1972 Versace moved to Milan, where he joined a creative cadre of freelance designers. That was the way things worked then. Designers were journeymen of a sort, working for whatever fashion house was in need of their services. Versace worked for labels like Callaghan, Complice and Genny.

Those who were part of the industry then remember that he made a strong impact in Milan with those early collections. Observers knew that Versace was someone to watch. When he started his own line, without substantial outside backing, he surrounded himself with his family.

His older brother, Santo, was the financial wizard. His sister, Donatella, was his muse, his sounding board, the fire starter and later, when the entertainment industry, a rainmaker.

Versace broke away from a relatively small pack of upstarts in Milan. He was helped along by Italian textile mills, which tend to function in collaboration with Italian designers to create a national fashion industry. Versace also was helped along by the French. As he was just getting started, retailers were becoming disenchanted with Paris. The French were said to be notoriously difficult to work with.

"The Italians were gift-givers and lunch-takers," says Mary Lou Luther, a longtime fashion writer who has covered the industry for more than 30 years. "Italians, through their generosity of spirit and business sense, outsmarted the French."

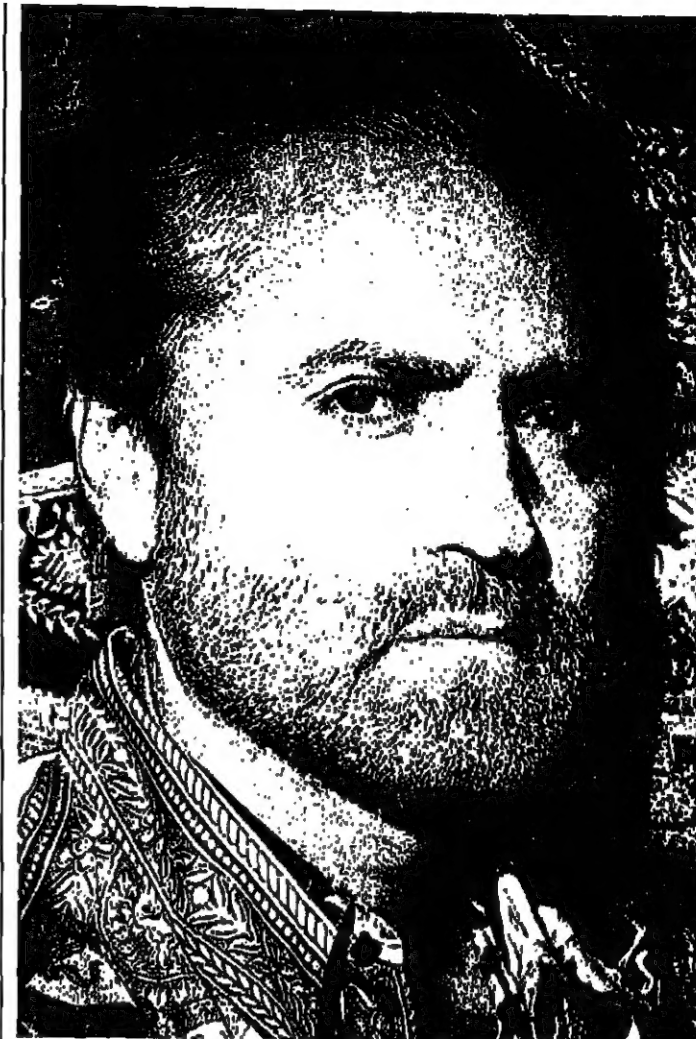
Back then, the field of designers wasn't so crowded. Today, anyone with a dream and bolt of fabric thinks it's possible to launch a collection.

Versace was one of the last to stake a claim before the industry exploded. And, thanks to an early advantageous apprenticeship, he had financial smarts — the Achilles' heel of many designers.

He had the good fortune of having worked with business-savvy Donatella Gironcelli, owner of the Italian manufacturing powerhouse that includes Genny and Complice. And he had his brother Santo, who at an early age had worked in their father's bookkeeping office.

Once Luther asked Versace why he never wore ties even though he made them for his menswear line, "I remember he said, 'I make ties because my brother needs them to sell.'"

For those who only have a passing interest in fashion — a glimpse of a runway show on television, a quick flip through a magazine — it might seem that Versace designed only the most extreme garments, things that only a rock star or movie



Versace: Unmistakable style with celebrity appeal

star would dare wear. And indeed his first collections, the ones that so impressed the media, were hard-edged, audacious, even rough.

In a way, they were "bad designs," says Kal Rutenstein, fashion director of Bloomingdale's. "He did strong, unsuited shoulders on leather jackets . . . But Gianni developed and grew as a designer the more he associated with people like [Vogue editor] Anna Wintour and his sister, who's such a blonde bombshell. He took people like her into consideration in his designs."

The hard edges, the bondage-inspired collections, though, got him press. They in turn created the magnetic pull that attracted other customers: wealthy socialites, Young Turks and regular folks who loved flashy clothes and had the money to spend on them.

"He brought a wonderful sense of showmanship to clothes," says longtime friend Billy Allen Mellon, creative director of Allure. "Then he hit a younger crowd, and they hung around for his clothes."

Versace understood the importance of marketing. He loved celebrities and knew that they not only attracted the attention of the press, but they also helped to set trends. In 1992, he designed the stage costumes for Fleetwood's world tour. He surrounded himself with superstars from Madonna to Sylvester Stallone. He knew their images were global.

And Versace was looking to create strongholds not just in Europe and the United States, but also in Japan, the Middle East and South America. "As far as we could see, they were very organized, very driven by growth, and growth in new categories," says Neva Hall, who for five years headed up Neiman Marcus's couture and designer sportswear division. "They were marketing-savvy."

Versace had an unmistakable style. And that's what every designer needs to succeed. Whether it's the subtle slouch of Giorgio Armani, the interlocking C's and quilted purses of Chanel or the Yankee tweeds of Ralph Lauren, customers buy designer clothing because of what it conveys to those around them.

Says Hall: "You'd know a Versace dress a block away."

From the very beginning, that had been the point.

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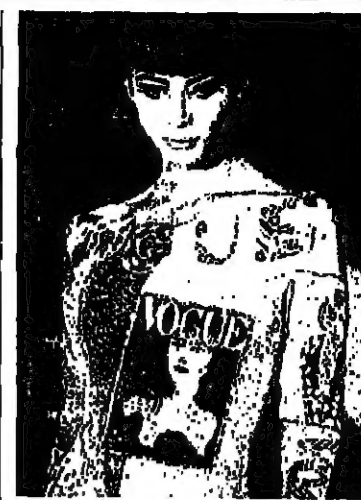
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Versace dressed from 1991 . . .



. . . 1993 . . .



. . . and Liz Hurley

## China Challenging U.S. Power in Pacific

OPINION  
Jim Hoagland

**W**HILE Senate Republicans labor to implicate the Clinton White House and the Chinese government in campaign finance scandal, another and ultimately more important investigation of Chinese intentions toward America is under way in Washington.

The other inquiry, taking place quietly at the Pentagon and elsewhere in the foreign policy establishment, involves signs of a developing opposition in Beijing to America's long-term military presence in Asia. A quarter-century of Chinese ambivalence about the stationing of U.S. warships, aircraft and troops in the Pacific appears to be hardening into a suspicion and ultimate Chinese rejection of the balance of power in the region.

Both investigations demonstrate that China is on the mind of official Washington as no country has been since the Soviet Union at the height of the Cold War.

Beijing inspires greed, fear and hope on a grand scale in the American mind, where dreams of great wealth compete with fears that Fu

Manchu runs the Politburo in Beijing.

The Senate probe has established that there is substantial evidence that senior Chinese officials did plan to divert some of their lobbying effort and money directly into U.S. political campaigns in ways that probably violated U.S. law.

How much and to what purpose is likely never to be clear.

The Chinese government and the Clinton administration share a common interest in hoping that the campaign finance scandal will blow over. An ambiguous outcome to the scandal investigations would permit the mid-autumn Washington summit President Clinton has scheduled with Chinese leader Jiang Zemin to stay on track.

Harder for the two leaders to sweep aside are the emerging signs that China no longer sees a long-term large American military presence in the Pacific as stabilizing. Having pocketed Hong Kong, China has turned to the reabsorption of Taiwan as its next big project.

On this subject, U.S. and Chinese interests diverge and could produce armed conflict. In this scenario, U.S. forces in the region become a serious impediment for China's

single most important ambition at the beginning of the next century.

Since the Nixon administration adopted Beijing as a strategic ally against Moscow in 1972, China has been studiously ambiguous about America's military facilities in Japan, South Korea and Southeast Asia. Official Chinese comments about foreign bases as the outmoded legacy of colonialism have traditionally been balanced by informal but authoritative praise for the American role as "the cork in the bottle" of Japanese militarism.

A Chinese academician explains Beijing's view this way: If China were asked to pay the cost of U.S. bases in Japan as a way of keeping Japan from pursuing nuclear weapons and a strong military, it would be in China's interest to pay the cost.

Beijing has also seemed to welcome quietly the U.S. presence in South Korea as preventing war on China's border. At the same time, Beijing openly opposes any U.S. military presence that inhibits its freedom of action in the Taiwan Strait or the South China Sea.

This once delicate balance has shifted as disagreement over Taiwan has mounted, with Beijing

reacting in fury to moves by the Bush and Clinton administrations to support Taiwan militarily. The recent American effort to get Japan to take on more military responsibility for the region as part of the U.S.-Japan bilateral security pact has also stirred Chinese resentment and suspicion.

"Asian security should be decided by Asians," said Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Shen Guofang in April. His comment took U.S. military analysts aback and was cited last month by the Far East Economic Review as part of a developing Chinese diplomatic campaign against the U.S.-Japanese partnership in the Pacific.

China now advocates replacing bilateral security arrangements with free-floating multilateral regional organizations, much as the Soviet Union once proposed that NATO be dismantled and a Common European Home established.

These moves suggest that President Clinton will be pushed hard in the autumn summit to weaken U.S. defense commitments to Taiwan and Japan as the price for a strategic partnership with Beijing and access to the El Dorado riches that U.S. companies seek there.

Only one answer from Clinton can be acceptable in that case: No deal.

## Canadian Physician Faces Murder Charge

Howard Schneider  
in Halifax, Nova Scotia

**B**EARLY November, Paul Mills died, and Morrison was charged with first-degree murder, in a case that might prompt Canada to address medical, legal and ethical issues it has so far skirted. Unlike the United States, where the suicides assisted by the physician, Jack Kevorkian, and other cases, are leading state governments to set rules for how and when the life of terminally ill patients can be ended, Canada is only beginning to confront those questions.

Canadian federal law prohibits assisting in a suicide, and conviction carries criminal penalties of up to 14 years. But when it comes to managing the end of life, Morrison's lawyer and others say Canadian doctors practice in a gray area where some drugs, including mor-

phine, are considered acceptable palliatives, even in doses that arguably accelerate the moment of death, while others, like potassium chloride, are taboo because they accelerate it too much.

"Euthanasia and mercy killing are not terms known in Canadian law," prosecutor Craig Botterill told Maclean's magazine. "This is a first-degree murder charge, and I'm arguing that she killed him."

Twice in Ontario, health care professionals have been charged with murder for using potassium chloride on terminally ill patients, but in both cases prosecutors reduced the charge to the less serious "administering a noxious substance."

Morrison's lawyer, Joel Pink, said no such deals are being offered in her case, and even if they were, Morrison feels she did nothing wrong.

The case likely will not go to trial until next year. In the meantime, the 42-year-old physician resigned her intensive care post at the Victoria General unit of the health sciences center, the largest medical complex in eastern Canada. She is still practicing medicine and remains on the staff of Dalhousie University's medical school.

Mills was recorded as having died of natural causes related to his infections, and no autopsy was performed. Pink said it might be difficult for prosecutors to convince a jury the injection of potassium chloride is what ended the life of a man whose system was already shutting down. Let alone prove his death amounts to a planned killing.

Working against Morrison, however, is the fact that she did not consult the family. Mills' widow, Dorice Lastowski, said in a telephone interview that the family had agreed to end life support, but that she would never have sanc-

tioned a life-ending injection. "I am still shocked by it," Lastowski said. "We took it for granted that they would take him off the life support and let nature take its course, but it did not happen."

"I know he was a very sick man," he said, but "if God was ready to come and get him . . . Even if it had been a mercy killing, you have no right to take somebody's life."

An internal review was commissioned, and Morrison was suspended for three months from practicing in intensive care. One colleague, dissatisfied with that punishment, triggered the murder investigation by notifying police.

"There is a line between acceptable medical practice and unacceptable medical practice, but the line is gray and it is a foot wide," said Peter Spurway, public affairs director for the hospital center. "It has been ignored because it is politically difficult."

Heidi is 1.16







## Debunking Gorky

Nicolas Weill

Le Mystère Gorky  
by Arcadi Vaksberg  
translated from the Russian  
by Dimitri Sasamann  
Albin Michel 453pp 150 francs

WHEN Lenin and the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia in 1917, the Russian writer Alexei Maximovich Gorky, better known as Maxim Gorky, was at the peak of his fame. He was widely read and celebrated as his contemporaries Tolstoy and Chekhov, who had died in 1910 and 1904 respectively.

In Le Mystère Gorky, Arcadi Vaksberg demonstrates how Gorky's popularity was exploited by the Soviet regime during the remaining 19 years of his life after the October Revolution.

Caught in an ever tightening noose, Gorky was forced to become a puppet in the hands of his Soviet masters. While he was an eternal rebel against authority up until 1917, his reputation as a writer and as a man gradually went into decline after that date.

Le Mystère Gorky, which is based on some of the most recent evidence discovered in the Russian archives, unashamedly sets out to debunk Gorky. Yet the further one gets into the book the less damning its verdict seems to be. The final impression it gives is that Gorky's biggest mistake was to have overestimated the degree to which the rulers of the Kremlin were swayed by his international reputation.

Vaksberg claims that neither Lenin nor Stalin had a high opinion of Gorky, despite the honours and bear-hugs which they constantly chose to lavish on him in public. On the other hand, they regarded his reputation as something out of which they could make political capital, even if it meant making a few concessions, as is usually necessary when securing the services of a prominent "fellow traveller".

Gorky was perfectly prepared to intercede on behalf of people when he felt the need. But, as Vaksberg demonstrates, his generous attitude had the perverse effect of creating a

"Gorkyan" network of protégés and hangers-on.

Gorky's influence was anyway limited by the fact that from 1922 to 1933 he lived in Sorrento, Italy. In 1921 his letters to Lenin were not compelling enough to persuade the Soviet leader to authorise the poet Alexander Blok to go to Finland for medical treatment (with the result that Blok died prematurely).

Apart from its extremely exhaustive account of Gorky's affairs with various women, the main interest of Vaksberg's book is that it shows, once again, the extent to which a regime like the Soviet Union, which saw itself as resolutely modernist in outlook, was deeply imbued with the antediluvian ethos of ethnic solidarity and clan networking that spawns nepotism at every level.

The reason, for example, why Genrich Yagoda, head of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD), a predecessor of the KGB, was such a close friend of Gorky's was that, like the writer, he hailed from Nizhni Novgorod (the city that went under the name of Gorky from 1932 to 1990).

Much has been written about the notorious visit, organised by the NKVD, which Gorky undertook in 1929 to the first of the Soviet camps, on the Solovki Islands: after allowing the wool to be pulled over his eyes, he described the camp in glowing and reassuring terms.

Less well known is the way, shortly after 1917, that Gorky helped himself to antiques (particularly antique weapons) which the regime had confiscated from collectors on the pretext of "preserving cultural values". Vaksberg accuses Gorky of having organised the whole scam.

It is difficult, given one's knowledge of the great terror that Stalin unleashed in the mid-thirties, to understand how Gorky could have uttered sentiments like: "If your enemy doesn't surrender, you exterminate him."

It is hard not to feel a sense of shock when learning that Gorky, the prime mover of the Institute of Experimental Medicine (Vient) whose purpose was to prolong human life (particularly that of the Soviet leaders), declared in the mission statement: "Experimentation



Maxim Gorky: a reappraisal of his life does nothing for his stature

on man himself is indispensable. Hundreds of human units will be needed for that. It will be a veritable service to mankind, and of course more important and useful than the extermination of tens of millions of healthy individuals for the well-being of a pathetic and psychologically and morally degenerate class of predators and parasites."

It is a pity that Vaksberg leaves a number of such "mysteries" completely unsolved, though he illustrates them with documents of all kinds. He gives no explanation, for example, for the way Gorky, who up to 1918 had sympathised with the Social Democrats, suddenly switched his allegiance to the communists, about whom, early on, he had no illusions.

The theory that Gorky later tried to counter Stalin by putting his money on Sergei Kirov — whose murder on December 1, 1934, marked the beginning of a new wave of terror — is an attractive one, but it remains no more than a supposition.

And then there is the mystery of Gorky's death on June 18, 1936. Did he die of an illness, or was he poisoned by Stalin, who saw him as a friend of his enemy, Bukharin? Vaksberg seems to plump for the poisoning theory, but is unable to clinch his case.

Le Mystère Gorky does nothing to enhance Gorky's stature. But his work, which Vaksberg mentions only in passing, will endure. (July 12)

## Cocteau off the shelf

Michel Cournot

ONE of the quirks of the book world is that an information about a writer is often revealed not by a biography, monograph or but by something more or less forwarily commercial: the seller's catalogue.

Authors sometimes do major work or give it back. Years go by, then death and financial straits may make a manuscript being offered to a publisher — which leads to uncertainties and delays — to an immediate sale to a seller.

The bookseller then exists and quotes a price for it, either in an auction catalogue or in one of his Specialists, aware the work written, assume it to be lost for ever or its existence not have been suspected, which case its re-emergence changes our perception of writer and his or her oeuvre.

A Geneva bookseller has published a Jean Cocteau catalogue. In it, we learn: existence of Elisabeth, three-act kitsch comedy wrote in 1912. It is set in Italian lakeside palazzo; carries a strong will to die.

This ties up with another known Cocteau work in the catalogue, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, a long poem of 1910, evokes a trip to the island of Cocteau and his mother up to have made three years of his father's suicide.

The catalogue also includes Cocteau's translation of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which dates 1912-14, and which appears flawed. Cocteau's annotations in the margin of the manuscript throw a completely new light on the creation of *Diaghilev ballet Parade* (the work's libretto was a major stone in Cocteau's literary career). (July 4)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY  
July 27 1997

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## Chirac aloof author of his own downfall

Gérard Courtois

Un Secret d'Etat  
by Denis Jeambar  
Editions Odile Jacob 194pp 90 francs

NO ONE could accuse Denis Jeambar, editor of the weekly news magazine, L'Express, of hunting with the hounds. As long ago as last autumn, he splashed a resounding "Enough is enough" across the front page of his paper as a message to President Jacques Chirac. Before that, he had charted the crisis of confidence which was undermining the nation 18 months after Chirac's election. Now that the French right has lost the general election, Jeambar is at it again.

The 194 pages of this vitriolic indictment, written with passion and style, attempt to explain the mysterious reasons that led Chirac to make such a monumental blunder: he put his seven-year presidential term in the balance by taking the gamble of calling a snap election, without apparently realising what kind of risk

he was taking, and ended up being deprived of his parliamentary majority and stripped of most of his powers.

And in the process he seriously damaged the equilibrium of France's institutions, whose architect was General Charles de Gaulle. What worse fate could there be for someone who sees himself as the keeper of the Gaullist flame?

Jeambar, like many other analysts, pins the blame for the fiasco on the team of advisers who kept on breathing down Chirac's neck, cooped him up in the Elysée Palace, cut him off from the real world, and robbed him of his antennae and his flair.

The former prime minister, Alain Juppé, gets most of the blame. Jeambar is scathing: "The minute he set foot in the Hôtel Matignon [the prime minister's office], [Juppé] displayed the faults that were to prove his undoing: an unbridled ambition that brooks no rival, a total inability to show any nobility of mind, an autocratic temperament that stifles any generosity of spirit,

and a deafening arrogance that sparks unusually violent reactions".

But Juppé was not alone. Dominique de Villepin, general secretary at the Elysée, and Maurice Gourdault-Montagne, Juppé's chief adviser, had had a hand in every aspect of policy since the autumn of 1994.

Blinded by the success of the Chirac-Juppé ticket eight months later, the duo got it into their heads that the president and his prime minister "were invincible, that an election can always be won, that public opinion can always be turned around, that the press can be manipulated, that power cannot be shared... They believed in their masters, but they also believed that they had become masters". Their sin was one of pride.

Unlike many observers, Jeambar believes Chirac himself to have been the main person responsible for his failure as a president. His personality, he argues, lies at the heart of events. "A man of instinct, rather than a strategist, Chirac pur-

sues his political advantage without asking himself how he will handle things later on... Even when he goes through the motions of projecting himself into the future, he is living only for the present".

The great misunderstanding that lay at the heart of the 1995 presidential campaign was entirely due to that confusion of priorities: to destabilise his rival Edouard Balladur and give himself some political breathing space, Chirac played at being a leftist.

But "the sorcerer's apprentice" did such a good job of it, with all his talk of the "social fracture", that he was "trapped" and did not know how to "establish a link between an election campaign based on a confidence trick and a presidency that hinged on a return to the truth".

But a more pathetic dimension also came into play. "The key to the disaster lies in the confusion between politics and emotions," Jeambar contends. "Balladur's betrayal [by standing as a candidate against Chirac] removed his last illusions about the human race, if he still had any... It was, then, a totally disillusioned person" who became presi-

dent in May 1995, someone had become disenchanted with the very moment he was taking up his place in history books.

The "disastrous combination" of Chirac's tendency to repeat himself and Juppé's march gave rise "to an unbridled presidential autism" and the "huge feeling of waste" as a feature of the first two years of presidency.

Jeambar wonders whether he will be able to rise again from the ashes of "this tragic episode" to do that, he will have to free himself from the straitjacket of a president and simply become a man.

(July 4)







## Early to bed keeps a legend funky

JAZZ  
Adam Sweeting

**R**AY CHARLES is 66, but he seems so permanent that he might as well be 166, or 566. Brought up on a healthy diet of blues, jazz and R&B, the Georgia-born "legendary genius of soul" has been able to sidestep neatly around trends like rock 'n' roll or disco, and merely keep on perfecting his idiosyncratic interpretations of soul classics and pop or country standards.

An evening with Ray Charles is also an evening with his 17-piece backing ensemble, since he holds back his own appear-

ance until the band has worked up a bit of sweat, blown the smog out of their lungs and popped their knuckles. But after three lengthy instrumental numbers which dug progressively deeper into big band cliché, one began to wonder if Ray had been misled by the baggage handlers at London airport.

He was only teasing. In a crimson shirt, bow tie and those permanent sunglasses, Charles was escorted to the keyboard by an immense minder. Soon he was into the mellow chords of Georgia On My Mind, wheezing and whooping the lyrics according to his own mysterious sense of time and pitch. The way Charles gives himself so much room to

stretch notes, slide chords and build in spaces where it had never occurred to you that there could be any, while remaining synchronised with the band, grows out of the understanding that can only emerge through decades of pounding the boards.

Still, the maestro appeared restless and tetchy, giving his soundman an earbashing for turning his microphone up too loud, and treating his bass player to sarcasm that didn't go down well with its victim. Could there be a hint of tyrannical handleader behind Charles's trademark expression of grinning, head-thrown-back bliss?

The arrival of the five-piece Raelettes seemed to cheer Ray

up. He engaged a higher gear for a funky, country-soul treatment of I Can't Stop Loving You, and put a sizzle into I Believe To My Soul with violent left-hand keyboard flourishes. But just as it seemed that the legend might be finding the groove, the MC declared that that was all, folks. Even genius sometimes needs an early night.

John Fordham adds: On paper, there's no better combination of famously talented fortysomething postbop gurus than the Herbie Hancock New Standard Allstars. But if this generally exhilarating jam had a downside, it was that in a band of leaders, nobody has ever heard of a short solo.

This is often the price of staging the kind of all-star extravaganzas that does much to promote jazz to wider audiences

and expand the reputations of great players like all six on this gig (as well as Hancock, Miles Brecker, John Scofield, Dave Holland, Jack DeJohnette and Don Allen, who formedly shared the percussion). And there were plenty of moments to occasion sharp intake of breath — such as Hancock's mix of quicksilver and dynamite in solos on songs by Peter Gabriel and Prince.

Dave Holland, a bassist of not circumspectness on the few short tunes and a darting intensity on fast ones, delivered a sublime solo on Norwegian Wood's ferocious one on Steve Wonder's You Got It Bad Girl.

This band of greats had the ears and the experience to be a great band. Maybe musically and the circus-act virtuosity required for this kind of road show just don't mix.

out-and-out farce. The problem is that the funnier it tries to be, the less it tickles the ribs. There's a terrible sense of diminishing returns as the film cranks up towards a conclusion that's more reliant on hysterical plotting than a proper observation of either the family or its unwanted visitors (who include Brenda Blethyn and James Fleet's holidaymakers suddenly pitched into the giant mess).

In the end, Remember Me seems to substitute pace and hilarity for comic depth of feeling. But it remains very well played, occasionally very funny and an extremely highly coloured, comment on suburban desperation.

It's weird to discover a Spanish domestic comedy made substantially on a council estate in Camberwell, south London with a Spanish-speaking cast augmented by English actors. But a last Fernando Colomo's The Butterfly Effect (El Efecto Mariposa) justifies itself by giving a nice part to the cherishable Maria Barranco, whose performance in Pedro Almodóvar's Women On The Verge Of A Nervous Breakdown was one of the pleasures of recent years.

Barranco plays a woman seeing 40 and separated from her English actor husband who, after much hesitation, starts an affair with her visiting nephew, thus precipitating Edward Lorenz's theory of chaos (illustrated by what happens across the world when a butterfly flutters its wings). When the boy's mother turns up and beds her Teddies neighbour (James Fleet), it looks as though Lorenz was underestimating matters considerably.

It's intrinsically a pretty silly story, and Colomo draws it out too long. But its placing of Spanish passions amidst such mundane surroundings sometimes produces sequences almost worthy of Mike Leigh, and any film with Barranco has to be watchable.

Disney's The Lady and The Tramp was one of the soporific of his animated features, and also one of the most brilliantly drawn. It is a rive back in town in its full CinemaScope glory with a digitalised background and the reputation of being the third most successful film in the box-office of the fifties. The two best beats it were 'The Ten Commandments' and 'Ben-Hur', the latter inspiring an American critic to write a one-line review: 'Loved Ben-Hur. As far as the Disney epic goes, it's the mutt-like Tramp and Lady. But then I always found Disney's anthropomorphic personification to be hard to take. It seems more perfectly formed kitsch now.

Under these circumstances, the gentleman caller is invited first to dinner and then to stay, with his blonde in tow. Meanwhile there are two strange men outside, waiting for the gentleman caller to emerge, with guns akimbo.

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## Don on the loose

DANCE  
Judith Mackrell

**T**HE Petipa-Gorsky Don Quixote is a huge, baggy monster of a ballet, with a ridiculously contrived plot and daff music. But in the Kirov's production, shown for the first time in Britain last week, it is also a blissful romp.

What it makes us see (which the Royal Ballet's current production doesn't) is just how close to music hall much of 19th century ballet is. Unlike the brisk, stripped-down staging of the English production, the Kirov retains all the old creaky mime scenes, and the dancers perform them as broad, delicious farce. In the hot Spanish numbers they twirl their fans and whirl their matador cloaks with exotic heat and swagger; in the gypsy routines their eyes flash daggers and in the Vision scene they are adorably sentimental.

The point about the Kirov dancers is that they're totally unembarrassed by the work's hokiness. They may have the most refined classical technique in the world but they also know how to let their hair down. In fact, they generated so hilarious and holiday a mood that the audience was laughing and clapping for more, like children at their first ballet.

The dancers, who were high as kites, also kept on giving more, and no one more than Alina Aslanmuratova, whose Kiti turned out to be a revelation. This ballet's heroine is often danced as a hard-faced Spanish flirt — all flashing teeth and backbreaking technique — and certainly Aslanmuratova can flaunt with the best of them. Her swishing fan crackles with static electricity and she taunts us ruthlessly as she holds her tiny body in long, knowing pauses before exploding into some particularly firecracker step.

But she also makes Kiti irresistibly interesting — a tomboy, a witty slut and a sweetheated woman. At times, we can imagine that she and her lover Basil were climbing trees together only a year before, so wild and free are their spirits.

When Kiti is caught in a high hurtling lift by Basil it looks less like a technical feat than reckless energy. When she drinks and flirts it is with rude, gutsy mischief. At the same time there's an exquisite delicacy in her catlike footwork and a deep reserve of tenderness in her dancing that has every man on stage at Kiti's feet.

Although Zelensky plays Basil — hilariously — as a slightly slow-witted hunk, his dancing is unswervingly powerful. There's a shockingly powerful stretch to his big, long legs that produces steps of magnificent scale and force. And though every move is finished to crisp perfection, he bounces exuberance off everyone around him on stage.

But these performances aren't isolated star turns. The whole company is on champion form. Diana Vishnevaya's Kiti (some performances) may be more conventional than Aslanmuratova's — less vividly playful with the music and the character — yet her dancing is spectacular. In her early twenties, she is extremely flexible but already has astonishing strength and authority. Her movements are perfectly placed, yet she is visibly, and excitingly, pushing to find her own personal poetry in them.

She also plays Kiti as a young woman sweetly besotted with Basil who, danced by Farouk Ruzimatov, is much more of a blatant flirt than Zelensky. With his huge dark eyes, flaring nostrils and black curls this Basil thinks he is the catch of the town — and in many respects he is. Ruzimatov can still produce strings of pirouettes to make us drool and a lovely feline jump. But his stamina is much less certain than it used to be and so is his grasp of character.

By the end of the performance he was gazing at Kiti with a romantic agony that made you wonder if he thought he was in Act II of Giselle rather than the wedding celebration of Don Q. But no one cared.

Tatiana Amosova danced the Queen of the Dryads with a lavish but utterly serene line, Ilya Kuznetsov's Espada was a brilliantly heartless exhibitionist, and Vladimir Ponomarev as the Don stumbled heroically through the ballet looking eerily like an illustration from Cervantes with his hollow fanatic's eyes and long querulous fingers.

Maybe best of all was Viktor Fedotov's conducting, which so deeply honours Minkus's score that instead of the usual choppy sequence of dance numbers we heard music of almost symphonic fluency.

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## I'll give you cock-a-doodle-doo

TELEVISION  
Nancy Banks-Smith

**E**VERY soap needs a family who are a blot on the landscape. The Grundys, the Dingles, the Corkills. It's an odd thing but, given time, these pulsating pustules always mutate into pets. Look at the Grundys. They are being kind to skylarks.

Then it's time to start again with a new, unimproved injection of low-life.

Coronation Street (Granada), rather stalled in respectability recently, has imported the Battersbys and their foul brood. It says much for Ken Barlow as a teacher that Leanne and Toyah Battersby have passed through his hands without a mark on them. Their ghetto-blasters makes the walls bulge like a blown tin. "Nessun," as Pavarotti remarked, "dorma."

It makes the street quite awful about the last tenant, Don Brennan. Don's history was a bumpy one. "He's locked up in one of those lunatic asylums after he burned this chap's factory down and then he tried killing his wife by drowning her in a tank."

But, fair's fair, apart from the

thump, thump of his wooden leg and a tendency to gas himself on Christmas Day, you hardly knew Don was there. In fact, he wasn't all there.

Last week Curly, the dampest of men, ignited. Flames issued from his nostrils and smoke from his ears. Breaking through massed ranks of Battersbys, he seized the ghetto-blasters and dashed it to the pavement.

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Apart, that is, from shrieks, threats ("You'll pay for this!" "I bet it's more than you ever did!") and the soft scrunch as Les Battersby headbutted Curly. Laying to rest with one blow both Curly and the theory that you can't hit a man in glasses.

Which brings me effortlessly to Neighbours From Hell (ITV). It is a popular misconception that the countryside is the place for peace and quiet. "My dear," as Ernest Thesiger said of the Somme, "the noise and the people!"

When Richard Jobson, who used to be a punk rocker, got up the nose of the local landowner, Sir Neville Bowman Shaw, he found himself living next to a pile of pig shit.

The sheer physical intensity of the smell just smacked you really hard in the face. The court agreed. Sir Neville was not grunted. "What the hell next? Good lord, on the Continent the Swiss — they're hygienic — the farmers sleep over their animals for warmth."

You have to watch out for the local nabob. After John and Brenda Laws bought a cottage for the view, their local landowner planted a row of Cupressus Leylandii ("the most virulent and notoriously aggressive trees") which blotted out their light. They believe he hopes to buy it back at a bargain price.

Michael Jones, a man so round of face and spectacles he could go on as Mr Pickwick without rehearsal, has founded a Cupressus Leylandii Victim Support Group. They pass the nibbles and exchange horror stories about being buried alive.

I suspect country landowners are disconcerted by the bounce of urban newcomers.

John Richings, woken at dawn by a cockerel, has videoed the fowl daily for seven years, calculated the nuisance on a logarithmic scale and is pursuing the council for malfeasance. I'll give you cock-a-doodle-doo.

## Garden of delights

GALA  
Edward Greenfield

**I**F ANYONE felt apprehensive about the future of the Royal Opera House, no one was showing it at the Farewell Gala. After all the disasters and criticisms, this was a gala of enjoyment and hope, closing an era at Covent Garden before 24 years of renovation and rebuilding, but pointing forward to another time.

It turned out to be as starry an event as you could ever want, culminating in the return of Placido Domingo as an incomparable Otello in the final scene of Verdi's opera, preceded by a much younger superstar, already bitingly powerful in Iago's creed, Bryn Terfel.

Terfel also led the ensemble in the final fugue from Verdi's last opera, Falstaff, again conducted by Sir Georg Solti, music director laureate, at 84 as electric as ever.

Special ovations came earlier for Sir Colin Davis as another previous music director, and for Edward Downes, now in his 45th year conducting the Royal Opera, an inspired interpreter here of Puccini, Donizetti and Verdi.

Yet the hero of the occasion, was Bernard Haitink. Music director extraordinary, inspirer and wise leader as well as searching interpreter, he alone in all the wrangles has remained untouched by criticism. By including big ensemble works like Wagner's Parsifal and Boito's Mefistofele, he hopes to keep the company together.

As always in such events, the main problem was cramming everyone in, and ensembles were the order of the day. With ballet splendid party pieces came from magnetic dancers Sylvie Guillem, Darcy Bussell, Irek Mukhamedov and Tetsuya Kumakawa.

The one operatic item fully staged was the pub scene from Britten's Peter Grimes, with the storm raging outside, still electrifying in Elphinstone's skeletal production.

How apt that the first solo voices to be heard were those of two veterans, Elizabeth Bainbridge as Auntie (32 years with the company) and Sarah Walker as Mrs Sedley, joined later not just by Anthony Rolfe Johnson, inspired in the title role, but by Heather Harper as Ellen Orford and Robert Tear as the drunken preacher, Bob Boles.



Close encounters of a profit-making kind... Ian Malcolm (Jeff Goldblum), Eddie Carr (Richard Schiff) and Nick Van Owen (Vince Vaughn) come perilously close to the dinosaurs in Spielberg's latest epic

## Profoundly slick dross

CINEMA  
Derek Malcolm

**"I**F ONLY we can step aside and trust in nature," says Richard Attenborough's John Hammond in The Lost World: Jurassic Park, "life will find a way." This is not the title song. He is just giving Steven Spielberg's latest super epic a nice philosophical finale. And considering that half the cast has been crunched, appropriately like popcorn, it's nice to know that the mastermind of the first movie has finally changed his ways.

Life has clearly found a way for Spielberg to profit by it in mind-boggling proportions. This is a bonanza for children of all ages, and has been so successful that it hardly needs reviews, which is just as well since, special effects apart, it looks like a director on automatic pilot, characterising his dinosaurs with more avidity than the humans.

Underneath the technical proficiency, there is nothing we haven't seen before in a hundred other monster pictures, right down to Jeff Goldblum's Ian Malcolm (no relation), whose awful warnings about interfering with nature come true in front of his eyes, and Arliss Howard's chief villain, who wants to capture the dinos as "major league toys" for display at a San Diego theme-park.

The characters are plastic and the script, taken from Michael Crichton's novel by David Koepp, is there only to make the action seamless. That was true of the first film. But it is even more true of this which, even when it has a sense of humour — a small boy wakes his parents and tells them there's a dinosaur in the garden — does not have the charm of ET.

Site B is the island where the prehistoric animals of Jurassic Park were genetically engineered and are now presumed extinct. But Hammond knows better and wants a small party of scientists to do a recon. Malcolm leaves well alone until he hears that his girl (Julianne Moore) is among them as a palaeontologist. And along with him goes his Afro-American daughter, stowed away after a quarrel about absent parenthood.

Once there, they see the dinosaurs lolling about in friendly fashion, even allowing Ma Moore to stroke their noses. But it's not long before the baddies arrive, led by Pete Postlethwaite as a white hunter determined to bag a live bull Tyrannosaurus Rex as a trophy.

This annoys the beasts, and the film becomes a chase movie with all stops out, ending with a King Kong-like episode in America.

The special effects brook no argument, being marginally better than those of the first time round, and wrapped around the camera like chocolate around an ice-cream. That is all. The rest is amazing dross from the man who made Jaws, Close Encounters and ET — and Schindler's

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ape Ealing, but which turns into an

List. The film hasn't the visceral thrills of Jaws, the wonder of Close Encounters or the sweetness of ET, though there's a homage to each. It's just profoundly slick.

It's an old story: the ex-lover who arrives uninvited at the home of the now-married former partner, stirring up memories and desires. But old stories are often the best, and if anyone can turn the trick again you might expect to bank on Michael Frayn.

Nick Hurran's Remember Me? certainly has a Frayn screenplay that attempts to murder cliché, setting itself in a London suburb where Imelda Staunton's harried wife, constrained by 20 years of a dullish marriage, is suddenly presented with Robert Lindsay, heart-throb of her university days, who turns out not to want her, but some spare cash.

He's got a Rolls outside and a blonde in it (Natalie Walter), and something's gone badly wrong with his high-flying life. Unfortunately, something's gone wrong with life in suburbia, too: since hubby (Rik Mayall) has been made redundant, the two children (Tim Matheva and Emily Brunl) view their parents with sneering horror.

Under these circumstances, the gentleman caller is invited first to dinner and then to stay, with his blonde in tow. Meanwhile there are two strange men outside, waiting for the gentleman caller to emerge, with guns akimbo.

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## Ireland 2, England 0

THEATRE  
Michael Billington

**W** E ALL know that English drama is, in Tynan's words, a procession of glittering Irishmen. But Conor McPherson's *The Weir*, at London's Royal Court Theatre Upstairs, is exceptional — a spellbinder that transfixes you like the Ancient Mariner's tale and proves that McPherson can combine the monologue form of *This Lime Tree Bower* and *St Nicholas* with sparkling dialogue.

The less said of the plot, the better you should discover it for yourselves. But the action takes place in a small, rural bar, complete with smoking stove, in the Sligo or Leitrim area on a windy, wintry night. The regulars' dipping is interrupted when Finbar, the local property-owning hotshot, brings in a fugitive from Dublin, Valerie, who has just bought a house in the area. As the men show Valerie black-and-white bathroom photographs of the neighbouring weir and abbey, they start to spin a series of supernatural tales.

Each story, in classic fashion, reveals something about its teller. Jack, the crusty hunchback garage-owner, shows his love of language and a frosty yurn. Finbar displays the insecurity concealed by his cock-of-the-walk strut. And Jim, Jack's quiet helpmate tethered to his aged mammy, unspools his own preoccupation with death.

But McPherson's play is much more than a series of hair-raising ghost stories. It offers, in a little over 90 minutes, an extraordinarily rich picture of Irish rural life, of its superstitions, its solitude, its strong pecking order, its clannish resentment of outsiders — especially the German tourists who arrive like swallows each summer.

McPherson is also saying something about sexuality and the nature of the Irish imagination, about the residual fear of women and about the incapacity of these tale-telling men — with the exception of the sympathetic barman — to accept real-life tragedy as articulated by Valerie.

No praise, in fact, is too high for a play full of the echoing sadness of disappointed lives or for Ian Rickson's production and Rae Smith's design. Exact in every detail, they turn us into pub-voysers perched on rickety chairs.

The acting is also perfect. Jim Norton beautifully shows how Jack's flinty spryness conceals a sense of lost happiness. Gerard Horan's blustering Finbar, Kieran Aherne's repressed Jim and Brendan Coyle's taciturn barman have the precise flavour of small-town life. And Julia Ford reveals with great charm and skill the source of Valerie's rapaciousness.

Along with that other Irish play, *Waiting For Godot*, *The Weir* currently offers the most exciting evening in theatrical London.



Blatant flirt... Farouk Ruzimatov as Basil PHOTOGRAPH LAURENCE LLOYD

brations of Don Q. But no one cared.

Tatiana Amosova danced the Queen of the Dryads with a lavish but utterly serene line, Ilya Kuznetsov's Espada was a brilliantly heartless exhibitionist, and Vladimir Ponomarev as the Don stumbled heroically through the ballet looking eerily like an illustration from Cervantes with his hollow fanatic's eyes and long querulous fingers.

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## Bobby dazzler for a prince

Maev Kennedy

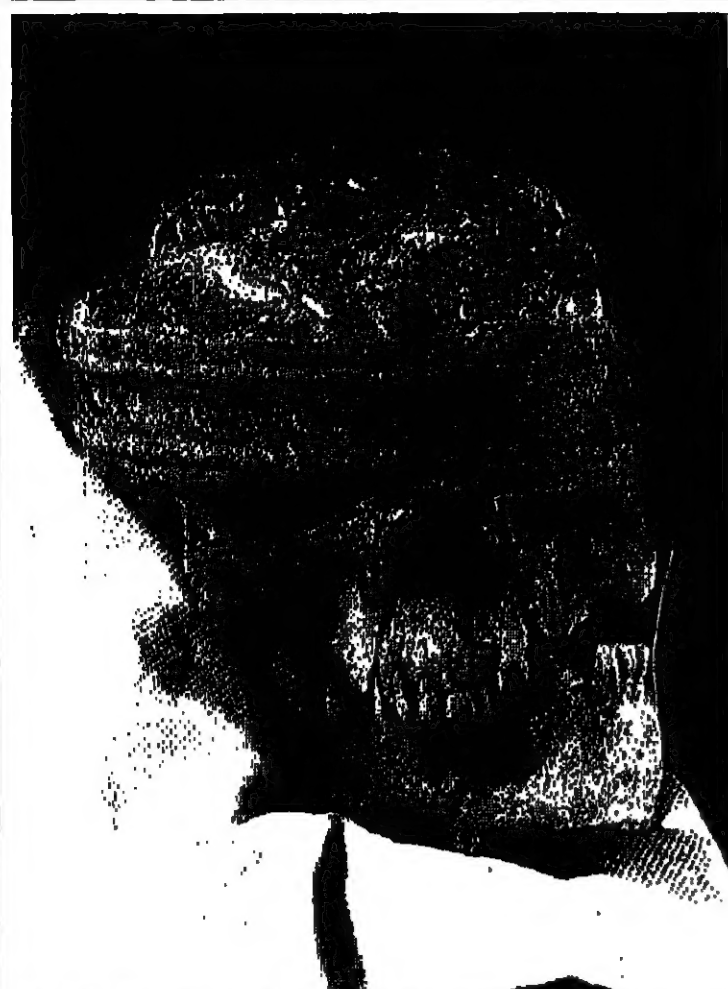
**T**HE head of the magnificent new galleries at the British Museum was too modest to steer the Prince of Wales towards his favourite exhibit, a broken bowl labelled in a slightly wobbly hand.

The bowl was excavated in 1959 by an 11-year-old schoolboy, now Dr Timothy Potter, Keeper of Prehistoric and Roman-British Antiquities.

It is among thousands of objects never seen before by the public since the old galleries were bombed in the war, and the department has been camping out ever since.

The Deal Warrior, excavated in Kent with his bronze crown still tipped rakishly over one eye, came out of store to gaze unnervingly on visitors in the new galleries which opened to the public last week. Dr Potter's colleagues were debating whether to show the prince their apartment.

Light from a skylight catches a 4th century silver tray engraved with Apollo, found at Corbridge in Northumberland. When the sun blazes, Apollo and his hand maidens are reflected back up to the roof, apparently blazing in mid-air.



The Deal Warrior, one of thousands of exhibits on show for the first time in the British Museum's new galleries

"It signifies the rise of a new pagan dawn," said Dr Ian Kinnes, probably joking.

The galleries also display humble objects from Roman Britain: an almost complete window pane from a bathhouse

in Sussex, an iron frying pan and the only complete Roman spade ever found, made from one piece of ash.

Dr Potter's glee at his new kingdom was irrepressible. "It is all a bit bobby-dazzling, isn't it?"

Letter from Uzbekistan Jennifer Balfour

## Up in smoke

**I**T WAS only a year or so ago that smoking cigarettes here was a bit of a bind. There was not much pleasure to be had in the rough, low quality weed grown haphazardly in the mountains, and the imported Russian varieties were little better. But that has all changed. Thanks to the efforts of BAT and its local subsidiary Uzbat, smoking has taken on a whole new dimension. Uzbekistan has joined the rest of the world.

No one of course has told the people here that the rest of the world is beginning to feel a little squeamish about the habit and that law suits, taxes and tighter controls are forcing companies to scout out remoter hunting grounds.

But let's not be too pessimistic about all this. Thanks to a \$300 million investment by BAT in return for a 51 per cent share in Uzbekistan's tobacco monopoly, spanking new factories and fermentation plants are underway, leaf research is gathering momentum, and the future is secure for 60,000 farm workers whose lives are now tied up in the industry. They will be kept on their toes if annual sales targets of 25 million cigarettes by the end of the century are reached and Uzbekistan becomes the hub of cigarette production in Central Asia. There could even be a little more work for doctors too, and no doubt BAT will chip in for a new hospital or two when the time comes. They certainly get full marks for promotional events, fashion shows and sponsorship of deserving projects.

The first we knew of the invasion was from huge "Go For It" stickers on hotel and restaurant walls, closely followed by startling Lucky Strike targets on bus stops and shop windows. But the brightest idea of all was to give smoking a national identity. Foreign brand names were one thing, but what Uzbekistan really needed was a label of its own. And so the flag-ships were born, in large and king-size, designed in luminous Coca-Cola colours. At last, here were cigarettes that Uzbekistan could really be proud of.

It was around this time that our trolley buses were transformed overnight, handpainted in brilliant reds and whites, into mobile cigarette packets. Too bad the brand name Saraton, chosen to lend

Uzbekistan into smoking was actually Arabic for the 12th month of Cancer, but then who speaks, even less those who understand the language, are short on the ground here and are likely to make the connection.

Uzbat has been careful to show health warning regulations, at least on its local varieties, although it cannot be said for its brands produced in the west. Some indicate that the "Super General" is more than a little concerned about the habit and its "smoking by pregnant women can result in foetal injury, pre-birth and low birth weight, and others that smoke contains carbon monoxide, while the rest are usually empty of any advice. It is to imagine whom the English warnings are targeted at, since the language is no more than a lip-sought-after twinkle in most people's eyes and the admonitions in its present form are unlikely to reach any of their required destinations.

**T**HE TV advertisements fully have no such life pretensions and promise girlfriends, happy-ever-afters, full of smoky, happy-ever-afters. Cigarettes will make boys too, into bright-eyed, smiling lunks with gleaming teeth, ever ready to find any river or any mountain for the girl they love. Girls are still a fairly hard crack, but since independence 10 years ago we have seen short trousers and mini-skirts, and it is no reason why a cleverly contrived campaign to tempt them, another of the deadly Western strikes targets on bus stops and shop windows, should not also be a roaring success in the not too distant future.

Suddenly smoking is not a dict's sport any more — it is a trendy game for everyone to play. And Uzbek youth, kept out of mainstream Western thought, fashion for 70 years, are the best players of all. And with Uzbat rivals Morris and their Marlboro brand, riding wild and free over capitalist prairies, and R J's nolds/Nabisco bidding for a stake in a game, with 100 million a year in Central Asians on the field, everything to play for.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY  
JULY 27 1987

## Enjoying the fruits of life's bounty

The Nobel Prize-winning poet Derek Walcott talks to Maya Jaggi about his sense of settlement in St Lucia

**F**ROM his balcony in St Lucia, Derek Walcott gestures casually towards the luxuriant sunset, beyond flame-orange Flamboyant trees to the cobalt Caribbean sea. "Wouldn't you have difficulty leaving this place?" he pauses before murmuring his own verdict on the island of his birth: "Knockout."

The Bounty, Walcott's first collection of poems since winning the Nobel Prize for literature in 1992, though tinged with elegiac sadness — for his mother and his fellow poet and friend Joseph Brodsky — is buoyed by a sense of nature's abundance and homecoming.

Now 67, he has spent the past 20 years a "fortunate traveller" between his tiny Antillean island and the wider world, teaching in the United States and staging productions of his 40-odd plays. But with the Nobel prize money, he exchanged the rented cottage on the beach in which he wrote his epic poem *Onmeros* (1980) for a house built for himself and his German-Flemish partner, Sigrid.

"Thanks to what Years called the bounty of Sweden, I'm settled in an extremely beautiful location, with the daily exultation of waking up by the sea," he says in the resonant tones that make him a captivating reader. "It's not just years in the sense of owning a house, but the place you come from. A sense of settlement — the roots are in."

In St Lucia, Walcott is revered. The cathedral square is named after him. A man with a gift for friendship, he is prone to telling awful jokes with gusto, whether with peers like the painter Dunstan St Omer and George Odom, foreign minister in the country's new Labour government, or with Creole-speaking locals in the fragrant bakery at Gros Islet, a fishing village whose wooden shacks are dwarfed by passing tourist cars.

Walcott has spoken of the fisherfolk made heroes of his Antillean Odyssey, *Onmeros*, as "illiterate but there to be read". He says: "I'll go down to Gros Islet, each face has its own sculpture, but they become something beyond their own natural flesh — iconic, emblematic. There's a sense of their faces being grooved by the daily life we all share."

His own face is similarly weathered, with grey-green eyes and a feature that makes him affectionately known to some St Lucians as "The Moustache". We talk in the studio where he paints watercolours, against the sound of waves that, as he says in *The Bounty*, "soothe in their unrest".

The title poem is an elegy to his mother Alix, a schoolteacher who died some years ago. Walcott recalls: "I had to go away a lot and leave her; she had to move into a nursing home, which is always agonising. I'd visit her but have to leave repeatedly."

His father, a draftsman, died aged 30, "younger than my son is now". Walcott remembers his mother as "having the actress thing in her". "Her example was phenomenal. Her voice in the house, and my father's pictures and books. I didn't have any other future in my head than to write and draw and paint. I never had any conflict of choice, which is a benediction."

The elegy cites "my business and duty, the lesson you taught your sons, to write of the light's bounty on familiar things". Unlike many peers, Walcott left the Caribbean only in the mid-1970s, having narrowly missed the one island scholarship to Oxford ("I had terrible mathematics"). He stayed to paint and work on the craft of poetry, "perfection's sweat". "I'm lucky I didn't go abroad; I much prefer the route I took, to have been here, writing in a difficult but formative time. To have a sense of working against a sense of futility, but the compensation of a new place as the empire was fading, with new people and a new history you had to reinvest in and redescribe."

Walcott can be read alongside Walcott's meditative Nobel lecture, *The Antilles: Fragments Of Epic Memory*. It works against a contemptuous misreading of the Caribbean, as "illegitimate, rootless, mongrelised". He quotes Froude: "No people here in the true sense of the word."

"What's compressed in 300 years of Caribbean experience is enormously epic. We've had our extinct Aborigines, the Caribs and Arawaks; our holocaust; slavery; indenture; migration. We've had our battles — this island changed hands 13 times between French and British. But that

variety more exciting than Joyce's Dublin. His insistence on "one literature in several languages" — English, French, Dutch and Spanish — remaps the Caribbean Basin as a cultural goldmine, extending not just to the islands, but from the Gulf of Mexico and Faulkner's Mississippi to Garcia Márquez's Colombia.

We should not be astonished at the fertile foment of Caribbean literature since the 1950s, he thinks, since "there was a lid placed on that volatile genius for centuries". But he rails against "second-rate" governments and their "indifference" towards artists. St Lucia lacks a national museum.

"It's not vision that's required, just a kind of thinking: I need to have a bit of bread and something to hang pictures on."

With Brodsky, Walcott says, he "shared a very banal and obscene sense of humour", adding: "I'm blessed, I've had great friends — Seamus Heaney, Joseph, great poets without any affectation or pomposity."

The verse enters Brodsky's voice. "Every elegy is a tribute: the voice becomes a vessel of the lost voice — whether Hardy on Swinburne, or Auden on Yeats."

Some poems in *The Bounty* foreshadow Walcott's own death. "Lowell once said we're in a time when our friends die daily. As you get older, you open a paper and it's almost a slaughter. So it's a matter of preparation; not of preparing to die — that's pompous, like ordering your own tomb. But one acknowledges gratitude towards what's there. The inheritance is the continuity: that's the bounty. So you're not here, so what? Tomorrow, the same sea will be bright and shiny; somebody'll be saying it's great. There's no weeping, but the benediction of having lived — it means you're going to die. You never think

concept of history is based on absurdity: massacre, death."

Walcott insists the Antilles have another kind of history, the sea keeping no records or ruins. "In a big, powerful country with a 'history', the ruins are more important than the people. We don't have that, because we weren't 'great' in that sense. And it's good: it annihilates the idea of history as progress. Here there's only the primal, blessed experience of waking up to the reality of the earth."

Walcott, who has African and European forebears, revels in the potential of the Caribbean's racial, cultural, linguistic mélange, "human

hooded up in a bleak Europe with Byron, Mary Shelley composed Frankenstein).

Volcanoes have showered islands and continental margins with basalt, scoria, pumice and tuff, adding layer after layer of plant nutrients to build some of the richest soils.

Volcanoes have their good points. The Romans built lasting aqueducts and monuments by mixing their concrete with volcanic ash. Bentonite is a clay formed from volcanic ash. It is used as a filler for bread, certain kinds of ice cream, gum and cat litter. Volcanoes produce geothermal energy in New Zealand and Italy, and the geyser spectaculars of Iceland and Yellowstone National Park. The kimberlite funnels of the South African diamond mines are ancient volcanic vents; diamonds are believed to be ancient ejecta. But beware of the stuff that

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you'll forget the pain of a loss; with love, you want to keep your pain.

"I don't want to forget anyone I've loved, and I can't forget Joseph. But what do you do about the reality of afternoon light on the sea and the absence of a friend? The thing you do is say you, yourself will disappear, but you don't want anyone to stop enjoying that light: you can't leave that legacy to your children or those you love. So the book has the confrontation and acceptance and bafflement of death. It's elegiac, but I don't think it's tragic."

Curiously for a writer whose sense of place is so vivid, Walcott was commended by Brodsky as a "poet of the English language", as though to call him a "Caribbean poet" were to diminish his art.

Walcott explains: "I'm not in the line of inheritance of what should come out of where. The centre of authority always remains. When you're praised, it's like applauding Dr Johnson's dog or preacher. But it's been a phase of every literature — Commonweath, post colonial — where writers are gradually elevated to protectors in the school, the club. So he is now a full member of the club? You mean that place in London — the Groucho?" he erupts into scornful laughter.

"Yeah, but I'd rather buy bread in Gros Islet."

Though "settled" on his paradise island, Walcott will keep wrenching himself away — to teach in Boston, where last year he was threatened with a sexual harassment suit by a former drama student. Boston university investigated the claims and backed the professor. The case was settled out of court.

He is also preparing for the opening of a Broadway musical he is working on with Paul Simon. *The Cape Man*, based on a real bank robbery, balances Puerto Rican, Nuyorican and New York cultures.

On the beach, a young black Londoner comes to shake his hand, saying: "You mean as much to me as Nelson Mandela." Walcott, who covers his embarrassment by quipping "he'll pick up his money later", is clearly touched.

The Bounty is also the name of St Lucia's premium rum. Walcott (who has given up alcohol and cigarettes) laughingly denies the allusion. But it is tempting to see the Nobel laureate as sharing a private joke with his fellow islanders, far from the portals of London's Groucho club.

The Bounty is published by Faber & Faber at £7.99

the tourist trail: earlier this month it put on a show. (This endearing book even has an appendix for the volcanologically inclined traveller. "Do not attempt to cross an active flow," it says.)

In Martinique, in 1902, a mountainside converted itself in seconds into a hot, dense hurricane of superheated rock. It moved faster than any wind-driven hurricane, and killed 29,000 people in St Pierre.

Martinique is on the same island arc, and has the same geology, as Montserrat, where the Soufrière Hills volcano last month claimed a number of lives, and could suddenly take many more. Pompeii and Herculaneum are history lessons, but are they heeded? How many would die if Vesuvius got nasty again, as it almost certainly will? Naples will need San Gennaro again, although a decent evacuation plan would help.

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## Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

**I**S BEAUTY really in the eye of the beholder, or can it be measured?

**D**R STEPHEN Marquardt, a specialist in maxillo-facial surgery, has devised a "scientific formula for ultimate beauty (facial beauty)", which he calls the "mask" (Tania Unsworth, *The Australian Magazine*, 1997). For example, the ideal mouth is 1.618 times the width of the nose. Apparently this works for all ethnic groups, though the models chosen do correspond to Western notions of beauty. — *Pauline Lionnet, University of Melbourne, Australia*

**W**HEN were firemen's poles first introduced into fire stations and who invented them?

**A**CCORDING to an exhibit in the Fire Museum of New York City, the first poles, made of polished wood, were used in Chicago in 1853. The first brass poles were installed in fire houses in Boston in 1880. — *Wolfgang Flotigra, Boston, USA*

**W**HEN do some aircraft leave jet trails while others do not?

**J**AN LEWIS (July 13) attributes vapour trails to water vapour condensing in the cool air over the plane's wings. This does, to some extent, occur and is often visible near take-off and landing. But vapour trails are caused by the combustion of fuel in the plane's engines — fuel and oxygen plus a spark yields carbon dioxide and water (and impurities). If one looks closely, one can in

fact see that a four-engined plane will leave four vapour trails which quickly merge into one. I believe that the exhaust of some spy planes has alcohol added to it to prevent the water vapour from condensing into a vapour trail. — *William Hamlin, Richmond, BC, Canada*

**I**F DOGS can understand certain words like their name and "sit", how many words could they learn? Is it a matter of conditioning? Could certain breeds understand more than others?

**I**N HER prime, aged around seven years, our collie/labrador cross, Cindy, had a working vocabulary of more than 70 words and phrases. Besides the essential "sit", "stay", "come here" commands, she knew the names of each member of the family and also many friends. She would bring a specifically named toy or object upon request and could open and shut doors. Sadly, at the grand old age of 15, she is now too deaf and blind to take part in such nonsense. — *Julie Revell, Sutton Coldfield, West Midlands*

**W**HAT is the difference between erotica and pornography?

**W**HEN I was a student in New York, our psychiatry instructor assigned us to go to see an X-rated film. We quickly discovered that pornography was an X-rated film shown at the cost of \$3.50 on West 42nd Street and that erotica was the identical film shown at

\$7.00 on East 59th Street, a tonier neighbourhood. — *Jonathan Newmark, Lakewood, Washington, USA*

**W**HEN are MPs not allowed to call each other liars in the House of Commons, when we all know this is a prerequisite for the job?

**T**HE question answers itself: an MP is not allowed to call another MP a liar because he/she would thereby be telling the truth, thus contravening parliamentary etiquette. — *Laurens Otter, Wellington, Salop*

## Any answers?

**W**HEN do multiplication tables end at 12? — *Cyril Howard, Ham, Surrey*

**I**N PREPARING for our parents' 70th wedding anniversary, my siblings and I would be grateful to learn what follows gold and diamond. If nothing, can anyone suggest a suitable substance? — *Ronald Higgins, Hereford*

**W**HEN does the phrase "pregnant pause" come from? — *Andrew May, Maidenhead, Berkshire*

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171-44471-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ. The Notes & Queries website is at <http://nq.guardian.co.uk/>

## A Country Diary

Virginia Spiers

**E**VENNES: We walk west from St Martin on the Ardeche. Cherries are picked, peaches and apricots ripe and fields of blackcurrants harvested by machine. In the hills, away from fertile valleys and overhanging river cliffs, vast tracts of land are virtually uninhabited, wooded with box, juniper and evergreen oak, harbouring wild boar.

Past subsistence farmers have left their mark: tiny stone plots surrounded by massive walls of laboriously picked limestone, gnarled mulberries with sweet, white fruit, their leaves once essential for the defunct silk industry; dilapidated terraces of sweet chestnuts, and, around Pont de Montvert in the upper Tarn, tiers of terraces built from granite boulders, watered by leats and growing wheat until the 1950s. Higher up, near the Tarn's

source at Belle Coste, set among flowery pastures with yellow gilliflowers, we hear the distant tinkling of sheep bells, evidence that the humane flock has arrived.

A few days later we come across a small flock at Col Salades, under the watchful eyes of a shepherd and his dogs. The main flock, passed by a few weeks ago, grazed down the graded path among mossy beeches, along crevices and ridges of convoluted, quartzite schist above deep, wooded valleys.

Ten years ago we met a flock of some 800, preceded by the sound of jangling bells, the rustle of older sheep bedecked with red, blue and green wool pom-poms. They had already travelled the world by six shepherds and their dogs, en route from the plain around Montpellier.

## Bubble and squeak

Tim Radford

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A peculiar  
brilliance

Veronica Horwell

Shedding a Leg: Collected Journalism  
by Angela Carter  
Chatto & Windus £42pp £25

WHY IS there no Booker prize for a commissioning editor? Not for whoever set up this book — "Let us collect all possible pieces of a now sacred late author" — not quite heroic. (But thanks to them anyway, because lots in here I haven't even got on scrutiny, old fourth-copy Xeroxes with the last page missing.) No, the award should go to the brave, mad bastard at the magazine New Society around 30 years ago who seems to have said to la Carter when she was only a very peculiar novel or two into her working life: "Half of what you write is weird and the other half will get up people's noses. I like it. You want to file a few thousand words about giant wooden pricks at a Japanese fertility festival? You want to expose D H Lawrence as a literary drag queen *maquis* whose closet is full of Liberty frocks? I'll publish it."

Not only a brave, mad bastard, of course, but a bloody prescient BMB. Because it doesn't read wild now. Although none of it is orthodoxy even yet. Especially not the tone of Carter's voice, with the latest in semiotics made comprehensibly conversational and plonked down beside phrases that must have been plucked out of the speech of her ferocious south Yorkshire gran. No current ego-journaux would deflate themselves as Carter did — she never tried to project personal desirability in print, unless you count her shameless flouting of bad taste.

And her subjects hardly had a close target grouping, either. Lipstick red as wound. The class position of Paddington Bear. Scarlett O'Hara in Gone With the Wind as a prototype Maggie Thatcher.

Perhaps because Carter only wrote for the press when she wanted to, and then mostly on her own choice of subjects, this collection has that frothed-up, invented-contentious feel of most feature-writing. It's all matter-of-fact, especially the surrealism. And diagnostic: even prognostic — 20 years before broadcasting was taken over by a putch of chefs she was on to the Elizabeth Davidisation process: "We are all cooks now," she sniffed, never a woman to believe the Holy Grail was hidden in a fresh loaf of foccacio.

How she foresaw what she didn't live to see. I had to scan the dates of most of these pieces three times before I registered they were — no, the verb is *had to be, she's gone, dammit* — 1987 or 1977 not 1997.

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Not divided... Radclyffe Hall (right) with Lady Una Troubridge

## Well of constant fun

Nataasha Walter

Radclyffe Hall: A Woman Called John  
by Sally Cline  
John Murray 434pp £26

RADCYFFE HALL is remembered for one thing and one thing only: the publication of *The Well of Loneliness*, "the one lesbian novel everyone has heard of". The book's 1928 trial for obscenity, in which Virginia Woolf, E M Forster and Vera Brittain were prepared to testify on Hall's behalf (though not to the novel's literary merit) made this elegant, bitchy lesbian an infamous figure then and something of a heroine now.

The *Well of Loneliness* is a lugubrious, heavy-handed novel, but it still has the power to move you almost to tears over its heroine's tragic situation. It may not be much of a literary achievement, but it was a personal achievement for Hall, who was rightly proud of her courage in creating one of the first unapologetic lesbian romances. And its trial marked one of those odd cultural turning points: *The Well* was banned, but it was also a best-seller, and from the moment of its publication lesbians started to become more visible in Britain. Still, this book, pilloried in the courts for being full of "filthy sin" and "acts of the most horrible, unnatural and disgusting obscenity", contains just one line of lesbian sex, perhaps the coyest ever written: "... and that night they were not divided".

Until reading this biography by Sally Cline, I had always assumed *The Well of Loneliness* was pretty much an autobiographical work. Certainly, it contains autobiographical elements. Stephen Gordon, Hall's heroine, affects the same dress as Hall herself: the silk neckties and tailored jackets. She was, similarly, a prolific writer who saw her work as a way of proving herself against an unsympathetic world. Like her heroine, Hall gave herself a man's name, John, and like her heroine she acted out a traditionally masculine, overbearing role in her relationships with other women.

But on one vital count the book and the life pull apart. Far from falling into a well of loneliness, Hall found her lesbianism a fount of constant fun.

So unlike poor Stephen Gordon, who had no friends except some miserable outcasts in Paris, Radclyffe Hall moved in a crowded social circle. Colette, Natalie Barney, Rebecca West, Violet Gordon Woodhouse, as well as dozens of other less well-known women admired her work and accepted her sexuality. And while Stephen Gordon gave up her only real lover, Hall was never single, and often caught in crazy triangles. The last few years of her life were packed with passion; she had been living happily with Lady Una Troubridge for 18 years when she fell in love with a young Russian woman, Eugenia Souline, and forced them into an uneasy ménage à trois.

A PART from this love affair, which is documented in a handful of surviving letters, Hall's life is viewed mainly from a distance. She left behind no diaries, few notebooks, and only occasional letters. Sally Cline has certainly gone the distance in her research; she has discovered scraps of fiction and autobiography that have never been published, but she is still constantly thrown back on others' work in documenting Hall's life. And she is an uninspiring biographer, fond of clouding the detail with rhetoric. "A literary study of a writer who was an invert will both invite questions of definition and identity as well as throwing up the issue of the extent to which sexuality is the product of social forces," she tells us grandly.

Given the absence of personal writing and the undeniable fact that Hall is not a great writer, perhaps this book is best read as social history that as literary biography. The description of the trial of *The Well of Loneliness* is perfect British farce, right down to the incompetent defence barrister who scurries the case, and the author in a sordid room shouting "Shame" from her seat.

## Myth breaker

Keith Thomas

On History  
by Eric Hobsbawm  
Weidenfeld 305pp £20

ERIC HOBSBAWM is 80 this year. He is probably the best-known living British historian, certainly the one whose work has been translated into the most languages. He brings to his historical writing some outstanding gifts: a probing intelligence, exceptional analytic power, great linguistic facility and an extremely wide range of knowledge. Born in Alexandria, brought up in Vienna and Berlin, and educated at Cambridge in the late 1930s, he is a cosmopolitan of broad culture and, that relatively unusual thing among British historians, an intellectual.

Thus equipped, Hobsbawm has illuminated an astonishing range of topics and themes. He is not a drier in the archives, and his books are feats of synthesis and analysis, rather than works of primary research. But he has a rare capacity to devise or disseminate new concepts which leave an enduring mark: "social banditry", for example, or "the invention of tradition". Professional historians admire him for his magisterial essays on labour history and for his penetrating studies of social and political topics: Primitive Rebels, Bandits, Revolutionaries, and Nations And Nationalism.

To the reading public, he is better known for his four volumes on the history of European capitalism from the late 18th to the 20th century: *The Age of Revolution*, *The Age of Capital*, *The Age of Empire* and *Age of Extremes*. Every page of this absorbing series reveals its author to be himself a supreme exemplar of that bourgeois culture which he so memorably dissects.

All his books are written with laconic elegance, in a cool, ironic, dispassionate tone. They are broad in their comparative perspective and incisively argued. In an age of narrow specialists, Eric Hobsbawm remains the supreme generalist. There are those who regret his relentless concentration on large impersonal forces and his somewhat schematic view of the past. But for sheer intelligence, he has no superior in the historical profession: no great praise perhaps, for, as he remarks in one of his essays, history has not, over the past century or two, been a discipline which has required great intellectual powers.

His new collection is a mixture of reprinted pieces and previously unpublished addresses. There are three main themes: the use and abuse of history; modern trends in historical writing; and the author's views on what history ought to be about.

The Hobsbawm who emerges from these essays is above all a man of the Enlightenment, a believer in the capacity of human reason and a searcher for the laws of social evolution which will help us to understand and ameliorate the condition of mankind. He has no sympathy with post-modernist attempts to obliterate the distinction between fact and fiction. He accepts that a totally "objective" view of the past is unobtainable, for every historian sees it from a distinctive perspective. But facts cannot be invented and statements about history must rest on verifiable evidence. Unfortunately, most history has been written for ideological purposes: to buttress the authority of rulers or to provide a convenient

myth for nationalism and social movements. As Ernst said, "Getting history wrong, essential factor in the formation of the nation. The historian's duty is to construct these myths by setting aside the fabrications and anisms; and it is in the modernity that such a critical can be most easily practised."

These are unexceptionable propositions, of a kind which conservative historians like Sir Geoffrey Elton would warmly endorse. What disguises Hobsbawm from his contemporaries is his persistent belief that the key to history remains the work of Karl Marx.

In these essays he takes issue with the changes in the production are the essence of historical development. History of humanity is the growing control over nature; probably not more intelligent, our Neolithic ancestors, but intervening years society transformed. For Hobsbawm, attraction of Marxism is that it provides a model of long-term transformations of convincing answer to what "the central question of history" fit together. It also sets limits in no way rules out human individuality and purpose. But with Marx he is that the prevailing mode of thought constricts human possibilities.

THE COLLAPSE of the Union is often said to have discredited the Marxist interpretation of history. This is fair, for the Soviet system largely irrelevant to theory for all its defects, has been a potent stimulus to thought. What the events did discredit was Soviet Marxism. Hobsbawm's work is never regarded as orthodox; to be translated into Russian in the Soviet period. But he has devoted most of his life to "cause which has plainly been communism initiated by the Revolution", and his apt for the Soviet experiment, to its horrors, remains uncorrupted.

One of his essays he vigorously scolds parliamentarians as an "inert historical understanding", and passage of remarkable majority, he expresses the hope of experience of defeat will make a better historian.

Sceptics who think of Hobsbawm as a brilliant man trapped in a Marxist ideology should read this collection of essays. They will be surprised by his freshness. The book is of the most powerful writing. It should be read by anyone who cares how history is written and why it matters.

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Jewish women are led away to an almost certain death could the Allies have saved them?

PHOTO: ARI

## Liberation fallacy unravelled

Norman Stone

The Myth of Rescue  
by William D Rubinstein  
Routledge 267pp £18.99

WILLIAM RUBINSTEIN is a brave man. There was an orthodoxy about British decline, which stated that the problem was the English gentleman. One generation would make money the hard way; the next would spend it on fancy ways — Elton, horses, peasants. Rubinstein took on this orthodoxy and wrote one of those essay-books on English social history that sticks in the brain — he had a wonderful eye for quotations from Dickens which put him into the Orwell class.

With this book, he has taken on an orthodoxy of a quite different kind. Over the past 30 years, there has been an effort to blame almost anyone for the Holocaust except Hitler. There are, moreover, shelf-

loads of books demonstrating that the Western Allies could have saved Jews from the Nazis. Jews should have been allowed to emigrate in far greater numbers before and during the war; the railway-lines to Auschwitz, and the camp itself, should have been bombed; a ransom should have been paid.

The overall result, as Rubinstein says, is that Roosevelt — for all his many Jewish appointments — appears, like Churchill, as a sort of collaborator in Hitler's programme to exterminate the Jews. All of this has not really been challenged. There undoubtedly is room for a book on the Holocaust that would take into account the various alterations in the picture of things that emerged in 1945. I hope that the Yd Vashem institute in Israel will produce such a book. For the rest of us, common sense and decency make it extremely difficult to offend elderly survivors by suggesting that the picture needs to be amended.

There have been suggestions that "Holocaust-denial" should be made a crime. The problem is that such a law might be extended to cover William Rubinstein's book, which is one of not very many on the subject that is genuinely needed. He has done an enormous amount of work, and an enormous amount of thinking. He writes with a vigour that you do not always find among historians: passion will out.

If you look at the overall effort of the Western world to let Jews escape from Nazi Germany, you will find that the record is unparalleled good, he says. About three-quarters of the German and Austrian Jews managed to get out before the war began. But for exiled Russians after 1919, or for other persecuted groups, life had been far, far more difficult: you could only settle in Great Britain, for instance, if you had substantial means. Besides, until 1938, most German Jews imagined that it

would all "blow over". Once the nature of Nazi persecution became plain, with Kristallnacht in November 1938, the British, in particular, opened their doors, and there was a long list of people, not Jewish, who did their best to help.

Once the war began, Hitler's policy was not to encourage emigration, but to cram Jews into ghettos, and then, after mid-summer 1941, to murder them or work them to death. Hitler was adamant about this, too; even in February 1945 he was furious when Himmler tried to release a few thousand Jews in return for some hard currency. There just was no possibility of ransom, and in any case the Allies, of course, allowed any Jews who did get out to settle — in Cyprus (if not to avoid offending Arabs) in Palestine. There were some horrible incidents, like the stranding of Jews in the Black Sea until their ship was sunk by a submarine, probably Soviet, because the British would only let the children off. But these incidents should not obscure the overall picture, which was of the Allies doing what they could.

The main thing that they could do was of course to win the war and liberate the camps. Otherwise, they could put on pressure through neutrals. Proposals to bomb the camps were made, and, as Rubinstein snortingly says, television documentaries are made to the effect that ill-will alone prevented these from coming to fruition. In any case, Jewish organisations did not want to have their own people killed by a bombing-raid, even if it was technically feasible.

And so the whole business went on. In the sixties, "revisionism" about the origins of the cold war became fashionable, and that attitude, of blaming London and Washington for wartime and post-war events, became a stock response. Rubinstein, laying about him with a keen eye for vulnerable spots, has written a very good book, which, in these respects, should do some good.

## Paperbacks

Nicholas Lezard

The Sandman: the Wake, by Neil Gaiman, III Michael Zulli, Jon J Muth and Charles Vess (Titan, £12.99)

IT ALL depends on your acceptance of the comic strip and the autonomous mythology as vehicles of expression, but this last volume of "Sandman" stories is a fitting conclusion to Gaiman's magnum opus about Morpheus, the Lord of Dreams. Not return for some hard currency. There just was no possibility of ransom, and in any case the Allies, of course, allowed any Jews who did get out to settle — in Cyprus (if not to avoid offending Arabs) in Palestine. There were some horrible incidents, like the stranding of Jews in the Black Sea until their ship was sunk by a submarine, probably Soviet, because the British would only let the children off. But these incidents should not obscure the overall picture, which was of the Allies doing what they could.

Anatomy of Restlessness, by Bruce Chatwin, ed Jan Born & Matthew Graves (Picador, £8.99)

A COLLECTION of short pieces, stories, letters, sketches, reviews; there's nothing scrappy or piecemeal about the book, for Chatwin, as revealed by this selection, although you probably know this already, was a man driven by the need to explore. "The man who sits quietly in a shattered room," he writes, "is likely to be mad, tortured by hallucinations and introspection." Even I, who do not even like going out to get the milk, find myself driven to go out and experience something of the world's danger and strangeness after reading this book.

Gospel Truth, by Russell Shorto (Hodder & Stoughton, £12.99)

WELL, how much of the Bible was made up? Was Jesus's mother a virgin? Did he really feed the 5,000? Why is Paul Johnson's idea of Jesus very similar to Paul Johnson, and Cliff Richard's very similar to Cliff Richard? The historical Jesus movement tries to answer these questions, apart from the last one, for all the hopeless rationalists among us and on the whole they make a good fist of it. We are, by the way, talking about reasonably sane people and not those A-Descendant-of-Jesus-Runs-The-Masons-conspiracy wackos. Full of facts. The Temple of Jerusalem could contain 20 football pitches. Well I never.

Psychodelia Britannica: Hallucinogenic Drugs in Britain, ed Antonio Melechi (Turnaround, £9.99)

NICE to see a book acknowledging that we invented psychedelia, but too many of the contributions here seem to have been written under its direct, chemical influence. Fraser Clark's essay is so loopy he makes Terence McKenna sound like Matthew Arnold. The best piece is by Melechi himself (on LSD evangelist and conman Michael Hollingshead) and there are some old ramblings by Alexander Trocchi for those who like, or, ahem, "dig" such things. Good old-fashioned fun.

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# Sun, sea, sand – and sex

Mark Cocker

THE stretch of Norfolk coast line at Burnham Overy couldn't have looked more tempting. The beach was bathed in sunshine and the sands receded to a distant tide-edge in a series of undulations, each dip filled by shallows where holidaying children were having the time of their lives. Yet way out at the shoreline it was deserted and the expanse was reduced to just two simple elements — the rippling sand flats and the ringing blue waters of the North Sea.

It was on these flats that terns had congregated to enact their courtship rituals, and everywhere the same performance unfolded. Males, with freshly caught sandeels drooping from their bills, made oblique approaches towards watchful partners. Both shook their heads constantly as the male circled in a long, stiff-jointed manoeuvre, until the female either flew off unimpressed or accepted his advance and crouched forward. Her back would then arch and her tail lift upwards, while he stood erect, his breast thrust out, neck craned and wings partially opened. When he closed finally upon her, the wings began to beat more vigorously, his obvious physical excitement intensifying as he mounted, while she raised her beak skywards for the compensatory morsel of fish.

The behaviour couldn't have looked more in keeping with Burnham Overy's potent blend of sun, sea and sand. But in fact their sexual antics were not as apt as they seemed. By this time in the summer the birds should already be parents, hurrying back and forth with food for ever-hungry chicks. The fact that the rituals of May were being re-enacted in July was an indication that they had no offspring and were attempting to re-nest. And at this late date in the season it's highly unlikely they'll rear any young at all.

Being one of the smallest seabirds in the world, terns appear



ILLUSTRATION: ANN HOBBS

Inherently vulnerable. They breed on shingle beaches close to the tide-edge and regularly find their nests flooded by high tides. They also have few defences against predators. Eggs and young fall victim to every conceivable creature. At this same tern colony I've seen crows locate eggs with laser-like precision, and squirrels, about a kilometre from the nearest tree, combing the shingle for chicks. Some tern colonies can be wiped out by an animal no more fearsome than Mrs Tiggywinkle, while another unlikely threat comes from the children who were playing further up the beach, since the holidaymakers inadvertently trample eggs or disturb the sitting adults.

This year, however, none of these factors was at work. The problem was two weeks of almost continuous summer rain and storms — exceptional conditions that have had a devastating impact on seabirds all

along Britain's east coast. Elsewhere in Norfolk, at Blakeney Point, one of the largest terneries in the country was a scene of carnage, the beach strewn with thousands of dead chicks. At Bemton Cliffs in Yorkshire approximately 100,000 immature kittiwakes were swept from the rock faces, while further north in the Farne Islands off Northumberland, more than 20,000 young puffins drowned in their nest burrows.

Such disasters wreak temporary havoc and can cause the loss of an entire generation of wild animals. But seabirds, however vulnerable to their natural element they may seem, are actually highly resilient to unexpected fluctuations. Their lives are relatively long (20-30 years for many species) and even terns, each no heavier than a couple of large strawberries, can readily withstand the outrageous fortunes of an angry North Sea.

## Chess Leonard Barden

IT'S not easy to become a grandmaster in a hurry, and last month's tournament at the Drury Lane Moat House Hotel in London launched what could be a summer-long saga for Jonathan Parker, Cambridge university's best player. Earlier this year, Parker, aged 21, scored the first of three required GM results with an impressive performance for Midland Monarchs in the 4NCL league.

His latest Fide rating of 2,505 is at GM standard, and, in normal conditions, he would expect to secure his title in a year or so. But the outlook for UK professionals is bleak, and Parker, an economics student, has opted for a City career. With just three months to complete the GM requirements before starting his new job, he has been seen studying a list of Continental opens and a map.

Frustratingly for Parker, he got to within one point of the GM score at Drury Lane but then had the black pieces in the final round against the leader John Emms.

Emms v Parker

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bb5 a6 4 Bx7 Nf6 5 0-0 Be7 6 Re1 b5 7 Bb3 d6 8 a4 Bb7 Given this game's special conditions, Black's opening is too routine. Even if he didn't want to play a sharp Sicilian 1...c5, he should still avoid the well-trodden main line Ruy Lopez. White's 8 a4 is unusual (8 c3) so Black might try 8...b4 9 d3 Na5 10 Ba2 b3? 11 cxb3 c5 and Nc6.

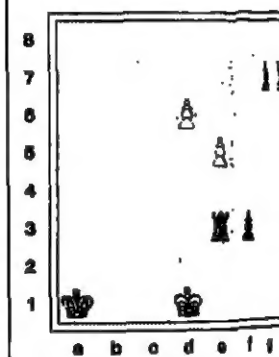
9 c3 Na5 10 Bc2 c5 11 d4 Nd7 12 Nbd2 0-0 13 Nf1 e4 14 axb5 axb5 15 Ng3 g6 16 Bb6 Re8 17 Qd2 Qc7 18 Rad1 Nb6 Black is trying to entice d4-d5 blocking the centre while White must watch for...d6-d5 opening up the centre. Meanwhile the dark squares around Black's king are weak, so White exchanges the defensive bishop.

19 Bg5 Nb3 20 Qe2 Ba6 21 Bxe7 Qxe7 22 Qc3 Re8 23 Nd2 Na5 24 Ra1 exd4 25 exd4 Nc6 26 Rac1 b4 White has vacillated in the last few moves, so 26...

Bc8! looks better, to guard the side, threaten Ra2, and cast by Nb4.

27 Bb1 Na5 28 e5 d5 29 Nh5! Black's army has got broken on the Q-side, so White can take tactics. If gxf3 30 Qxf3 Nb5 Nd7 32 Nf4 Bb7 33 Qa6 34 h4. Following the text, that the best attacks are in 11 minutes before the time control 35 Re3 Ne6 36 Nxe6 Rxe2 Rce1 Kh8 38 Qf4 Rg8 39 Rf4 At last a Q-side break, but White ready. 40 bxc3 bxc3 41 Rb6? A blunder under pressure though Black's game is difficult. Rec6 or Kg7 should be tried. Qh6! Resigns. Why? The key point is Qh8 (else 43 Ng6 44 Qd3 Rg8 44 Rxc3 when White is a pawn up but Black's pawns are squares as his bishop. White's hopeless, so I don't blame Parker mentally switching on to his GM tournament.

No 2482



Though White (to play) is content with f2 and f3, he draw easily by 1 Rg7 22 Rf7. If Re1? 3 Kd2 f1 Q4 Rd1 Rd1? the pawns defend 11 squares and 19 fous. He was finally dismissed in the last over after spurning a catch to John Stephenson off a Simon Rensch full-toss.

No 2481: 1 Ne6? Kf7? Qxg8+ holds out longer 2 f6 Kxc6 3 Qf5 mate.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY  
July 27 1997

Rugby Union Tri-Nations Series: South Africa 32 New Zealand 35

## Bunce leads the fightback

Clinton van der Berg  
in Johannesburg

IT SAYS something for the state of the game in South Africa that Springbok spirits were lifted even in defeat. The series loss to the British Lions, in-fighting among provincial unions and a money deal that has again ravaged the domestic game were forgotten as South Africa and the All Blacks fought out an epic opening match of the 1997 Tri-Nations series.

After falling 23-7 behind in the opening half-hour the All Blacks staged one of the greatest fightbacks witnessed at the altitude venue of Ellis Park, scene of South Africa's 15-12 defeat of New Zealand in the 1995 World Cup final. Whurrus South Africa committed basic errors at crucial times last Saturday, the All Blacks built towards a climax that revealed itself in rock-like defence.

Unlike the Lions Test series, which the British Isles won 2-1 despite being outscored nine to three in tries, South Africa were beaten by a team who scored more tries than they did — four to two. But the Springboks could at least salute a performance of quality by the fly-half, Jamie de Beer.

Granted he missed a 76th-minute penalty which would have levelled the scores, but his overall contribution rewarded Carle du Plessis's faith in him. After the coach's failed experiment with Henry Honiball in the first two Lions Tests, De Beer made his Test debut here earlier this month and kicked 13 points. But last Saturday he showed himself to be a master of the running game as well as kicking 22 points.

Frank Bunce was New Zealand's standard bearer as they swept to their first win here in five years. The 35-year-old midfielder, playing his 48th Test, ripped the home defences apart with two tries. Carlos Spencer, at fly-half, contributed 20 points. The All Black captain Sean Fitzpatrick left the field with a knee injury in the second half but should be fit to face the Australians in Melbourne on Saturday.

The Springboks played in their new Nike branding: the result of a \$5 million deal brokered by Louis Luyt's son, also Louis. Luyt, Jr has taken a 10 per cent commission that has raised questions about his role in South African rugby.

However, any criticism has been deflected by the threat of four of the big five provincial unions, Western Province, Natal, Free State and

Northern Transvaal, to pull out of the South African Rugby Football Union if it went ahead with a plan to transform South Africa's Super 12 sides into regional units. But after a meeting with Luyt, the unions backed down. Gauteng, his own province, had supported the move.

Wales withstood a second-half onslaught by Canada at Fletcher's Field, Toronto, to finish their six-match tour of North America undefeated. But once again they struggled in the tight five and owed their 28-25 victory to flashes of inspiration from their backs.

Meanwhile, one of Rugby League's great attacking forces, Brisbane, overcame Wigan Warriors 30-4 at Central Park last Sunday, recording their fourth — and most satisfying — victory in Pool A of the World Club Championship. Auckland Warriors brushed aside Bradford Bulls 64-14, inflicting on the British club their fourth straight defeat. Canterbury were 40-22 winners of their match against Halifax. Hunter Mariners, the only unbeaten side in the Australian Pool B, defeated Castletown Tigers 26-8, and Perth beat Sheffield 48-12. The London Broncos came from behind to defeat Canberra 38-18, while St Helens lost 29-12 to Cronulla Sharks.

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

## Sunday best from Brown

SURREY batsman Alistair Brown was in sparkling form against Hampshire at Guildford. Sunday League records tumble as the opener, with impeccable timing, plundered 203 runs off just 119 balls, hitting 11 sixes and 19 fours. He was finally dismissed in the last over after spurning a catch to John Stephenson off a Simon Rensch full-toss.

It was the first double century in the history of the competition, easily surpassing the previous best of 170, set by Graham Gooch for Essex against Glamorgan in 1983. Brown said: "It was a great batting pitch. I rode my luck a bit out there but in the end I got a great score." Surrey, who scored 344 for 5 in 40 overs, went on to win by 68 runs.

Meanwhile Gooch, who still holds England's record for the highest number of runs in Test — 8,900 — has decided to retire from first-class cricket at the end of this week. Gooch, who was 44 last Wednesday, has played 118 times for England, Mike Atherton and Peter May have captained their country more often.

MEN behaving badly on the football pitches are to have stiffer penalties imposed on them while those who show a healthy respect for the rules are to be rewarded under a carrot-and-stick scheme announced by the Football Association. From next season trouble-prone players will be banned after five yellow cards instead of six and there will be a further ban after eight bookings. Those booked 11 times will be hauled before an FA disciplinary committee. However, those going five full games without receiving a yellow or red card will have a booking struck from the records.

NEWCASTLE United and Liverpool reinforced their title ambitions by making key signings last week. The Newcastle manager, Kenny Dalglish, short of defensive cover after selling Robbie Elliott to Bolton for \$4 million, moved swiftly to sign Stuart Pearce after discovering that the 35-year-old former England captain had been given a free transfer by Nottingham Forest, ending his 12-year association with the club. Pearce has been given a two-year contract by Newcastle with a basic weekly wage of \$25,000 and the option of another year.

A flight to Milan by Liverpool's vice-chairman and chief executive Peter Robinson brought Paul Ince to Merseyside. He wrapped up the signing of the England midfielder from Internazionale for \$7 million. Ince was due to join his new teammates for training this week and is expected to make his debut in a friendly against Bristol City.

David Hopkin and French star David Ginola were two other footballers on the move. Hopkin, the Crystal Palace midfielder, agreed to join Leeds United in a \$5.4 million deal while Ginola became Tottenham Hotspur's \$3.3 million acquisition from Newcastle United.

A DECISION by the selectors to omit the British athletics team captain Roger Black from the 400 metres for the world champions in Athens next month raised a storm of controversy. Among the critics was the Minister for Sport, Tony Banks. He said: "Roger is one of our best medal-winning athletes. If anything could have been done to have helped him I feel it should have, because he's been unfortunate with illness." The Olympic silver medalist's plea for more time to prove his recovery from a virus was refused by the selectors.

lectors, who opted for James Hinch as the team's third 400m runner. Black will still make the trip but only as part of the 4 x 400m relay team.

GROUP 4 won the BT Global Challenge, billed as the world's toughest yacht race, after crossing the finish line in the Solent early on Wednesday last week. The yacht, skippered by Mike Golding, clinched victory on the final leg from Boston by completing the race over an hour ahead of her nearest rival, Toshiba Wave Warrior. A flotilla of more than 20 boats, including a ferry carrying friends and family members of the crew, met the 67ft yacht. Sailing westward — the "wrong way" against prevailing winds and currents — 14 identical steel yachts set out from Southampton 10 months ago. Group 4's combined overall time was 161 days 5hr 25min 18sec.

NASEEM HAMED retained his World Boxing Organisation and International Boxing Federation featherweight titles by stopping the Argentine challenger Juan Cabrera in the second round at Wembley Arena. Hamed looked determined to score a quick victory when he inflicted a vicious uppercut on his opponent in the first round and a cut on the left eye in the second, which swelled rapidly. The referee intervened as Hamed launched yet another onslaught.

MICHAEL DOOHAN, Australia's world motorcycle champion, won the German 500cc grand prix — his sixth successive victory of the season. Doohan now has an almost invincible lead at the top of the table with six races remaining.

Cycling Tour de France

## Young Ullrich tightens his stranglehold on the Tour

William Fotheringham  
in Courchevel

EVERY year the Tour de France's post office receives bags of letters for Richard Virenque, who is much loved by female fans for his vulnerable, curly-haired charm and fighting spirit. Virenque's valiant yet unsuccessful attempt to wrest the yellow jersey from Jan Ullrich last Sunday is likely to result in a fresh deluge of adoring mail.

The cherubic rider had slipped to more than six minutes behind Ullrich after Saturday's climb to l'Alpe d'Huez but, instead of admitting defeat and merely attempting to defend his second place, he ordered his team, Festina, to go on the attack.

Ullrich had looked impenetrable so far in this Tour, but he showed signs of weakness on the descent from the first of the day's three massive climbs, the first-category Col du Glandon. He came close to flying off the road on a left-hand bend while Virenque and three of his team-mates were slightly ahead. As hairpin succeeded hairpin at dizzying speed he lost ground.

This left the 23-year-old with a difficult choice: he could waste valuable strength in a lone attempt to catch Virenque and his lieutenants or wait for his own team-mates, who were over a minute behind, and hope they had the strength to regain the lost ground.

He showed wisdom beyond his years in taking the second option, setting up an epic pursuit between the Festina foursome and a group led by his Deutsche Telekom team-mates in the valley leading to the day's second mountain, the super-category Col de la Madeleine.

On the 13-mile climb to a summit surrounded by meadows both sets of domestiques swiftly dropped back, leaving Virenque on his own, with last year's winner Bjarne Riis leading Ullrich in pursuit.

For most of the ascent the 32-year-old towed the young man who had superseded him as the Telekom team leader a few days before. It was a direct reversal of last year's roles when Ullrich helped Riis to victory. Such selflessness in



Ullrich... signs of weakness

a defending champion is rare. At the foot of the perilous descent down the Madeleine, a sinuous single-track road with no barriers and a sheer drop into a green valley, Virenque was duly overhauled and another battle for the stage win, began on the final climb to the ski-resort finish.

Ullrich clearly wanted to repay Riis for his assistance by helping the Dane take the stage, so he sat behind Virenque every time the little Frenchman upped the pace. Riis was unable to cope with the changes of rhythm and was repeatedly left behind.

Eventually Virenque realised he would have to make the pace on his own, and so he led all the way to the line. Ullrich clearly entertained thoughts of contesting the finish but then remembered the unwritten rule of professional racing — that a race leader should let his breakaway companion share the spoils — and permitted Virenque to cross the line first. It was a gesture he could afford to make, with the Tour effectively in the bag.

Chris Boardman quit the race early in the 13th stage. The British rider had struggled over the past few days with neck and back injuries sustained in a crash in the Pyrenees.

William Fotheringham is assistant editor of Cycling Weekly

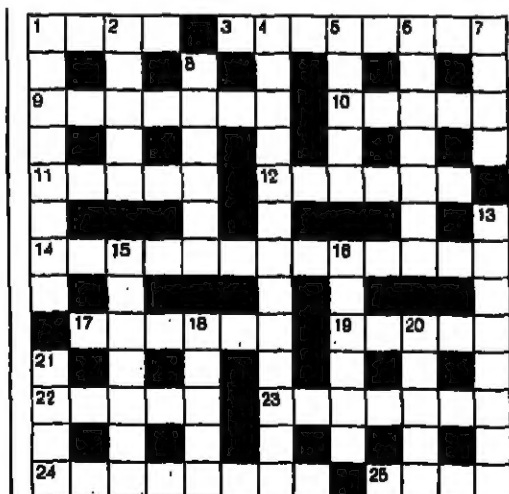
## Quick crossword no. 376

Across

- 1 Too (4)
- 3 Pig-headed (8)
- 9 Sum paid for insurance — a bonus (7)
- 10 Irrigate (5)
- 11 Confess (5)
- 12 Skilful (6)
- 14 Pedagogue (13)
- 17 Oriental market (6)
- 19 Surveyor's measure — a string (5)
- 22 Hurry (5)
- 23 Sudden inclination to act (7)
- 24 Traveller on foot (6)
- 25 Prison — commotion (4)

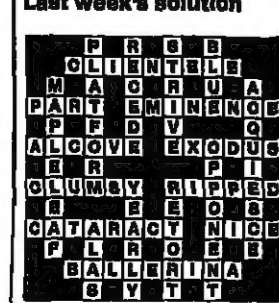
Down

- 1 Hand-clapping (8)
- 2 Vapour from boiling water (5)
- 4 Repeatedly (4,5,4)
- 5 Shady retreat (5)



- 6 Large, flightless bird (7)
- 7 Standard (4)
- 8 Small restaurant (6)
- 13 Magnificence (8)
- 15 Rumour (7)
- 16 Believe (6)
- 18 Scene of conflict (5)
- 20 Apportion (5)
- 21 Point out — display (4)

Last week's solution



## Bridge Zia Mahmood

THE British Ladies' team won the European Championships in Italy last month for the first time since 1981. For Nicola Smith, Pat Davies and Sandra Landy, this was their fourth European title. For Michele Handley, Liz McGowan and Heather Dhondy it represented their first gold medals at this level, though McGowan and Dhondy are already world champions, having won the World Mixed Teams title at the Rhodes Olympiad last year.

The British women had to fight off a determined challenge from a French team containing no fewer than four players making their international debuts — the strength in depth of bridge in France is second only to that in the United States — but the British maintained an almost incredibly high standard of performance. They lost only three of their 23 matches, and they lost none of them by a margin of more than 12 IMPs, a display of consistency without parallel in the history of the game.

The same boards were played in the Open series as in the Ladies, and on the following deal Dhondy had the satisfaction of making a slam in which her counterpart in

the Open team had failed. See if you can match her performance and make six hearts on the North-South hands below.

North		East	
♠ 63		♠ J952	
♥ AJ9		♥ 10852	
♦ AQ4		♦ K97	
♣ AQJ973		♣ 105	
West		South	
♠ 1087		♠ AKQ4	
♥ 4		♥ KQ763	
♦ 108632		♦ QJ5	
♣ K842		♣ 8	

This had been the bidding:

	South	West	North	East
1♥	Pass	3♥	Pass	
3♥	Pass	4♥	Pass	
4♥	Pass	5♥	Pass	
6♥	Pass	Pass	Pass	

and West led the eight of clubs, a creative effort designed to fool Dhondy into placing East with the king.

How would you have played (Taking the club finesse is a thing, of course — you don't even though it works) West won the club lead with dummy ace, and cashed the ace and king spades. East followed, with dummy then the two, showing an even number of cards in her system. West ruffed a spade with the king, hearts, then cashed the ace and jack of trumps.

West showed out on the second round of hearts, but Dhondy is confident that, since East had a long spade, she could safely ace and another diamond. West won with the king, she did not give East a spade ruff, but was East who won the second round of hearts, draw trumps and her contract.

In the Open series, the British clarifier (who had received the 'crabby opening' lead), followed the same line of play for the first three tricks. Then he ruffed a club with trumps, cashed the queen of spades and finessed in diamonds. East won the king and then cashed back on play with a diamond, creating a club trick to West's down.

**In this Ashes series, every ball will be bowled on line.**

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